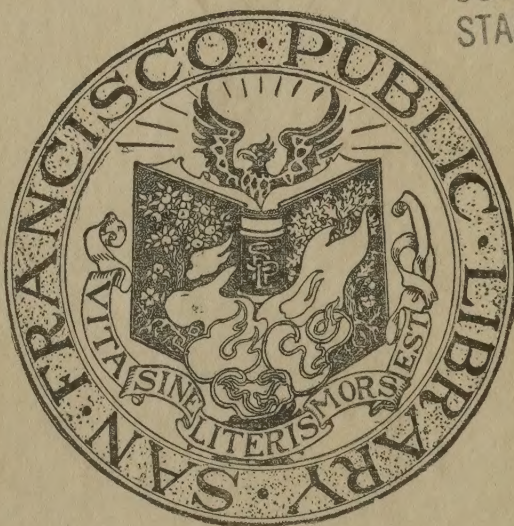




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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. VI.

PORTLAND:

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1859.

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BY - LAWS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY-LAWS OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ADOPTED AUG. 4, 1859.

CHAPTER I.—*Of Members.*

ART. I. Those members of the Society who shall reside in the State of Maine, shall be denominated *Resident Members*; all others *Corresponding Members* — *Resident Members* alone shall be required to contribute to the funds of the Society.

ART. II. Each Resident Member shall pay to the Treasurer an admission fee of ten dollars, for the general purposes of the Society. If he shall neglect to pay his admission fee for one year after being notified of his election, his election shall be void.

The person so chosen shall be notified immediately by the Corresponding Secretary of his election, and be furnished with an attested copy of this article; and the Treasurer shall, as cases may occur, report to the Society the names of those persons who have neglected to pay their admission fee.

ART. III. Resident Members shall be citizens of Maine, and their number shall not exceed one hundred. Corresponding members shall be elected from among persons who are not citizens of the State. When a resident member ceases to be a citizen of the State, his membership shall cease, and if a corresponding member shall move into the State, his membership shall cease.

ART. IV. A book shall be kept by the Recording Secretary, in which any resident member of the Society may enter the name of any person, whom he may regard as suitable to be nominated as a resident or corresponding member; which nomination is not to be made known abroad, but no nomination shall be made to the Society except by report of the Standing Committee. Persons may be nominated at any regular meeting of the Society, but no action shall be taken thereon except at the annual meeting.

XII.

ART. V. All members shall be elected by ballot, but no election shall be valid, unless there be fifteen members present, nor unless three-fourths of all the members present shall have voted affirmatively. Not more than three members shall be elected at any meeting where a majority of the members are not present.

ART. VI. Any resident member who shall fail to attend at any two successive annual meetings, or shall fail to attend within that period one or more of the other meetings of the Society, shall thereby forfeit his membership, unless he shall send to the President within the period embraced by said annual meetings, such excuse as shall be satisfactory to the Society.

Provided that the Society at the annual meeting may in proper cases suspend the action of this rule.

CHAPTER II. — *Of Meetings.*

The meetings of the Society shall be as follows :

ART. I. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in Brunswick on the Thursday following the first Wednesday in August, at eight o'clock in the forenoon. At this meeting the officers of the Society, for the ensuing year, shall be chosen, and all business of the Society transacted. This meeting may be adjourned from day to day, but not for a longer period.

ART. II. For the purpose of receiving and reading papers and historical documents, and the hearing of such addresses as come within the purview of the Society, meetings may be held, in such places and at such times as the Standing Committee may direct.

ART. III. At all meetings as soon as the President has taken the chair, the record of the preceding meeting shall be read, after which, at special meetings, the business for which the meeting was called shall be transacted ; and at the regular meetings the order of business shall be as follows, viz :

1st. The Librarian and Cabinet Keeper shall make a detailed report of whatever has been received by them since the last meeting.

2d. The Corresponding Secretary shall read any communications he may have received.

3d. The unfinished business and assignments of the last meeting shall be announced to the President, and taken up in their order.

4th. The Standing Committee shall be called upon to report its doings since the last meeting.

XIII.

5th. Reports from other committees shall be called for, after which members shall be called on to submit any propositions or communications on the objects of the Society; and discuss any subjects proposed.

ART. IV. Nine members shall be a quorum for all purposes, except the election of members, as herein before provided, and excepting also alterations of the By-Laws, which shall not be made unless fifteen persons are present, nor unless the subject has been discussed, or reported on, at a previous meeting, by a committee appointed for the purpose.

ART. V. All committees shall be nominated by the chair, unless otherwise provided for.

ART. VI. It shall be the duty of the President, and in his absence, of the Vice President, to call occasional meetings of the Society, on the application in writing of the Standing Committee or any five members, and the object of the call shall be stated in the notice.

ART. VII. The time and place of every meeting shall be published in at least two of the newspapers of the State.

CHAPTER III.—*Of Officers.*

ART. I. There shall be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting, a President, a Vice President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, a Cabinet Keeper, a Standing Committee of five, and whenever it shall be thought proper, a Publishing Committee, and they shall hold their respective offices for one year, and until others are chosen in their stead.

ART. II. The President shall preside in all meetings of the Society when present, and when absent, the Vice President. In absence of both, a temporary President shall be chosen by hand vote.

The President shall be, *ex officio* chairman of the Standing Committee, and the Recording Secretary be, *ex officio* a member.

THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

ART. I. The Recording Secretary, and in his absence, or in case of a vacancy or inability, the Corresponding Secretary, shall notify all meetings by publication in the newspapers as aforesaid, at least seven days before the day of meeting.

He shall keep an exact record of all the meetings of the Society with the names of the members present, and enter in full all Reports of committees

XIV.

that may be accepted by the Society, unless otherwise directed. He shall be, *ex officio*, a member of the Standing Committee.

THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ART. I. The Corresponding Secretary shall carry on the correspondence of the Society not otherwise provided for, and deposit copies of the letters sent and the original letters received in regular files in the library.

He shall inform all persons of their election as members of the Society, sending to Resident Members the terms of their election.

THE TREASURER.

ART. I. The Treasurer shall receive all monies belonging to the Society, and shall make and keep fair entries in a book to be kept for that purpose, of all monies and funds of the Society that may come to his hands, and of all receipts and expenditures connected with the same; which accounts shall be open to the inspection of the members; and at every annual meeting shall exhibit in writing to the Society, a statement of his accounts, and of the funds of the Society, and the condition of all the property entrusted to him.

He shall pay no monies except on vote of the Society or upon the order of the Standing Committee. He shall give bond with sufficient sureties in the sum of eight thousand dollars.

A committee of two persons to be nominated by the Chair, shall be appointed at the annual meeting to examine the Treasurer's accounts for the year, and report thereon at the succeeding annual meeting.

STANDING COMMITTEE.

ART. I. The Standing Committee, of which the President shall be, *ex officio*, chairman, shall regulate all the common expenses of the Society, and make the necessary purchases of such articles as may be wanted, and shall have power to draw on the Treasurer to defray the expense.

ART. II. They shall assist the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper when it shall be necessary, in arranging and preserving the books, manuscripts, &c., belonging to the Society.

ART. III. They shall frequently inspect the Records and inquire whether all the orders of the Society are carried into effect with promptitude and fidelity.

ART. IV. It shall be a part of their duty to inquire for, and take judicious measures, within the means of the Society, to procure books, manuscripts, and articles of curiosity for the benefit of the institution.

XV.

ART. V. They shall prepare such business as may deserve the attention of the Society.

ART. VI. They shall report all nominations of persons for admission as members, and shall, at their discretion, as vacancies occur in the Society, report nominations for resident members to fill the same.

ART. VII. All investments and changes of funds shall be under their direction.

THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

ART. I. At every annual meeting of the Society a catalogue of the books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps shall be laid before the Society by the Librarian, and a catalogue of the curiosities by the Cabinet Keeper.

ART. II. Once every year the Standing Committee shall report to the Society respecting the state of the Library and Museum.

ART. III. No book shall be taken from the Library but with the knowledge of the Librarian, who shall make a record of the same.

A member shall not have more than three books at a time without permission from the Standing Committee. No member shall retain a book more than eight weeks without leave of the Standing Committee, nor, without the same leave, be permitted, after having it for that period, to return and receive it again, till after an interval of three months.

ART. IV. The Publishing Committee may make use of the Library without restriction.

ART. V. Newspapers and maps may be taken from the Library only by the Publishing Committee.

ART. VI. Fines for not returning books according to the third article, shall be ten cents per week for every book less than an octavo; twenty cents for an octavo, thirty cents for a quarto, and forty cents for a folio.

ART. VII. All persons who take books from the Library shall be answerable for any injury or loss of the same, which shall be estimated by the Standing Committee.

ART. VIII. The privilege of using the Library shall be denied to those who are indebted to the Society for fines or assessments, and which are of longer standing than one month, provided they have received due notice of them from the Librarian, or Standing Committee.

ART. IX. All pamphlets shall be bound, and such a catalogue be kept by the Librarian as will render it easy for any member to find any pamphlet or manuscript in the Library he may wish to see.

XVI.

ART. X. He shall acknowledge each donation that may be made to the Library or Cabinet, by a certificate addressed to the person making it.

ART. XI. A printed ticket shall be pasted on the inside of the cover of each volume, signifying that it is the property of the Society, and, if a present, the name of the donor.

ART. XII. He shall at every meeting report in writing all additions made to the Library or Cabinet since the preceding meeting, and at the annual meeting submit a detailed statement of their condition and the number of additions made to them during the year, with the whole number of volumes, pamphlets, and manuscripts in the Library.

ART. XIII. No maps, newspapers, or books of great rarity or constant reference shall be taken from the Library except by vote of the Standing Committee.

PUBLICATIONS.

ART. I. Each resident member shall take and pay for, the publications of the Society at their cost.

ART. II. The Librarian is authorized and required to transmit to other societies, the publications of this Society in exchange for publications received from them, and also to such public Institutions and Libraries as the Standing Committee may designate.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

ELECTED AUG. 4, 1859.

WILLIAM WILLIS, OF PORTLAND, *President.*

GEORGE BURGESS, D. D., OF GARDINER, *Vice President.*

JAMES W. BRADBURY, OF AUGUSTA, *Corresponding Secretary.*

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, OF BELFAST, *Recording Secretary.*

ALPHEUS S. PACKARD, OF BRUNSWICK, *Librarian & Cabinet Keeper*

AUGUSTUS C. ROBBINS, OF BRUNSWICK, *Treasurer.*

Publishing Committee.

WILLIAM WILLIS, LEONARD WOODS, JOHN S. C. ABBOTT

ROBERT H. GARDINER, JOHN McKEEN, PHINEHAS BARNES.

WM. WILLIS, *Editor of the Sixth Volume.*

Standing Committee.

LEONARD WOODS, *ROBERT P. DUNLAP, ROBERT H. GARDINER,

JOHN McKEEN, JAMES W. BRADBURY,

And the President and Corresponding Secretary, *ex officio.*

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FROM THE BEGINNING.

Presidents.

Albion K. Parris,	1822	Prentiss Mellen,	1835—1846
William Allen,	1823—1828	Robert H. Gardiner,	1846—1856
Ichabod Nichols,	1828—1834	William Willis,	1856—
Stephen Longfellow,	1834		

Corresponding Secretaries.

Edward Russell,	1822	Parker Cleaveland,	1829—1858
Ichabod Nichols,	1823—1828	James W. Bradbury,	1859—
Samuel P. Newman,	1828		

Recording Secretaries.

Benjamin Hasey,	1822	Joseph McKeen,	1836—1846
Benjamin Tappan,	1823—1828	William Willis,	1846—1856
Stephen Longfellow,	1828—1831	Phineas Barnes,	1856
William Willis,	1831—1835	Joseph Williamson,	1857—
Asa Cummings,	1835		

Treasurers.

Prentiss Mellen,	1822—1831	William B. Sewall,	1835
Albion K. Parris,	1831—1833	John McKeen,	1836—1858
William Willis,	1833—1835	Augustus C. Robbins,	1858—

Librarians and Cabinet Keepers. ¹

Edward Payson,	1822	Henry W. Longfellow,	1834
Parker Cleaveland,	1823—1829	Alpheus S. Packard,	1835—
Samuel P. Newman,	1829—1834		

¹ The library and cabinet are kept at Brunswick, where the annual meeting is held, on the first Thursday in August, being the day after the College Commencement.

RESIDENT MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY, JUNE, 1859.

	When Chosen.		When Chosen.
Allen Frederic, Gardiner,	1822	Lincoln Isaac, Brunswick,	1822
Abbott John S. C., Brunswick,	1851	Little Josiah S., Portland,	1846
Ballard Edward, Brunswick,	1859	Locke John L., Belfast,	1859
Barnes Phinehas, Portland,	1856	McGaw Jacob, Bangor,	1822
Bourne Edward E., Kennebunk,	1834	McIntyre Rufus, Parsonsfield,	1828
Bradbury James W., Augusta,	1846	McKeen James, Topsham,	1828
Brown Theodore S., Bangor,	1828	McKeen John, Brunswick,	1828
Burgess George, Gardiner,	1841	McKeen Joseph, Brunswick,	1822
Champlin J. T., Waterville,	1849	Merrick John, Hallowell,	1822
Child James L., Augusta,	1859	Morrill Lot M., Augusta,	1856
Crosby William G., Belfast,	1856	Packard Alpheus S., Bruns'k,	1828
Cushman David, Warren,	1859	Pierce Josiah, Gorham,	1846
Davies Charles S., Portland,	1828	Poor John A., Portland,	1846
Deblois Thomas A., Portland,	1859	Potter Barrett, Portland,	1834
Downes George, Calais,	1846	Redington Asa, Augusta,	1828
Eastman Philip, Saco,	1846	Rice Richard D., Augusta,	1859
Eaton Cyrus, Warren,	1859	Robbins Augustus C., Bruns'k,	1851
Ellingwood John W., Bath,	1846	Selden Calvin, Norridgewock,	1828
Evans George, Portland,	1828	Sewall Rufus K., Wiscasset,	1859
Everett Ebenezer, Brunswick,	1822	Sewall Wm. B., Kennebunk,	1828
Farley E. Wilder, Newcastle,	1846	Shepley David, Winslow,	1834
Fessenden Samuel, Portland,	1828	Shepley Ether, Portland,	1822
Fiske John O., Bath,	1859	Shepley George F., Portland,	1851
Gardiner Robert H., Gardiner,	1822	Sheldon David N., Bath,	1849
Gardiner Frederic, Gardiner,	1849	Simonton Putnam, Searsport,	1849
Gilman John T., Portland,	1846	Smith Samuel E., Wiscasset,	1822
Goodenow Daniel, Alfred,	1846	Smyth William, Brunswick,	1830
Goodenow William, Portland,	1846	Tappan Benjamin, Augusta,	1822
Haines William P., Biddeford,	1849	Thacher Peter, Rockland,	1846
Hamlin Elijah L., Bangor,	1859	Tenney John S., Norridgewock,	1846
Hathaway Joshua W., Bangor,	1828	Thurston David, Winthrop,	1846
Howard Joseph, Portland,	1846	Upham Thomas C., Brunswick,	1828
Kent Edward, Bangor,	1831	Vose Richard H., Augusta,	1846
Keeley George W., Waterville,	1849	Ware Ashur, Portland,	1822

XXII.

Weston Nathan, Augusta,	1822	Williamson Joseph, Belfast,	1850
Wheeler Amos D., Topsham,	1846	Willis William, Portland,	1828
Whitman Levi, Norway,	1828	Woodhull Richard, Bangor,	1846
Williams Daniel, Augusta,	1831	Woodman Jabez C., Portland,	1846
Williams, Ruel, Augusta,	1822	Woods Leonard, Brunswick,	1893

MEMBERS CHOSEN AS RESIDENT & SINCE REMOVED FROM THE STATE.

Allen William, Northampton, Mass.	Hitchcock Roswell D., New York.
Cogswell Jonathan, New York.	Kellogg, Elijah, Boston, Mass.
Cole Jonathan, Exeter, N. H.	Longfellow Henry W., Cambridge, Mass.
Cutter William, Brooklyn, N. Y.	*Nichols Ichabod, Cambridge, Mass., 1859.
Fales Thomas F., Waltham, Mass.	Sabine Lorenzo, Boston, Mass.
Farrar Samuel.	Shepley Samuel H.
Folsom George, New York.	Sprague Peleg, Boston, Mass.
Greenleaf Jonathan, New York.	Southgate Wm S, Burlington, Vt.
*Greenleaf Simon, Cambridge, Mass., 1853.	Swallow George C.
Goodwin Daniel R., Hartford, Conn.	*Warren Eben T., Quincy, Ill., 1829.
Hodgdon John, Dubuque, Iowa.	

RESIDENT MEMBERS DECEASED.

Time of Death.		Time of Death	
1840	Abbott John, Brunswick.	1844	Kavanagh Edward, Newcastle.
1849	Abbott William, Bangor.	1842	Kellogg Elijah, Portland.
1850	Adams Joseph, Portland.	1852	King William, Bath.
1846	Ames Benjamin, Bath.	1830	Lincoln Enoch, Paris.
1853	Bailey Jeremiah, Wiscasset.	1849	Longfellow Stephen, Portland.
	Balch Horatio G., Lubec.	1825	Loomis Harvey, Bangor.
1827	Bond Thomas, Hallowell.		Mann Ariel, Hallowell.
1844	Bradley Sam. A., Fryeburg.	1840	Mellen Prentiss, Portland.
1849	Bradley Samuel, Saco.	1842	Newman Sam. P., Brunsw'k.
1834	Bridge James, Augusta.	1840	Nourse Peter, Ellsworth.
1844	Chapin Stephen, Waterville.	1828	Orr Benjamin, Brunswick.
1855	Clark William, Hallowell.	1856	Otis John, Hallowell.
1858	Cleaveland Parker, Brunsw'k.	1849	Packard Hezekiah, Wiscasset.
1851	Cole Joseph G., Paris.	1857	Parris Albion K., Portland.
1835	Cony Daniel, Augusta.	1827	Payson Edward, Portland.
1856	Cummings Asa, Portland.	1835	Pierce George W., Portland.
1843	Dana Judah, Fryeburg.		Pond Samuel M., Bucksport.
1858	Dane Joseph, Kennebunk.	1855	Porter Rufus King, Machias.
1843	Deane John G., Portland.	1857	Preble Wm. Pitt, Portland.
1859	Dunlap Rob't P., Brunswick.	1857	Quimby Moses, Westbrook.
1851	Emerson Sam'l, Kennebunk.	1857	Randall Benjamin, Bath.
1847	Fairfield John, Saco.		Rose Daniel, Thomaston.
1847	Fisher Jonathan, Bluehill.	1835	Russell Edward, Portland.
1850	Freeman Charles, Limerick.		Seaver Josiah, So. Berwick.
1852	Frothingham Wm., Belfast.	1855	Severance Luther, Augusta.
1844	Fuller Henry Weld, Augusta.	1825	Sewall David, York.
1854	Granger Daniel T., Eastport.	1852	Sewall Joseph, Bath.
	Greenleaf Moses, Williamsb'g.	1829	Stebbins Josiah, Alna.
1850	Gillett Eliphalet, Hallowell.	1847	Tappan Enoch S., Augusta.
1858	Groton Nathaniel, Bath.	1859	Thatcher Stephen, Lubec.
1850	Hasey Benjamin, Topsham.	1858	Thayer Solomon, Portland.
1851	Hayes Wm. A., S. Berwick.	1835	Vaughan Benj., Hallowell.
1843	Holmes John, Portland.	1843	Wells Geo. W., Kennebunk.
1856	Hyde Zina, Bath.	1834	Weston Jona. D., Eastport.
1853	Ilsley Isaac, Portland.	1846	Williamson Wm. D, Bangor.
1857	Ingalls Theodore, Portland.	1843	Wingate Joshua, Portland.
1851	Johnson Alfred, Belfast.		

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Bache Alex'r H., Washington, D. C.	Logan William E., Montreal.
Bartlett, Wm. S., Chelsea, Mass.	Menou Count Jules (D'Aulnay), Paris, France.
*Bowdoin Jas., Boston, Mass., 1834.	Parsons Usher, Providence, R. I.
Chandler Peleg W., Boston, Mass.	Pierce Josiah, Jr., St. Petersburg, Russia.
*Crabtree William, Savannah, Ga., 1859.	Pike John, Rowley, Mass.
Cleaveland John P., New York.	*Ripley Eleazer W., New Orleans, 1840.
Cleaveland Nehemiah, New York.	Robb James, King's College, Fredericton, N. B.
Cooley Horace S., Springfield, Mass.	Savage James, Boston, Mass.
*Dearborn H. A. S., Roxbury, Mass., 1851.	Sibley John L., Cambridge, Mass.
Dewhurst Henry W., London.	Taft J. K., Savannah, Ga.
*Farmer John, Concord, N. H.	Thornton J. Wingate, Boston, Mass.
Felch Alpheus, Detroit, Mich.	Tuston Septimus, Washington, D. C.
Frothingham John, Montreal.	Vattemare Alexandre, Paris, France.
*Gallatin Albert, New York, 1849.	Vermilye A. G., Newburyport, Mass.
Graham J D., U. S. A.	Vetromile Eugene, S. J., Worcester, Mass.
Greenleaf Patrick H., Indiana.	Waldron Nathaniel G., Portsmouth, N. H.
Hale Samuel, Somersworth, N. H.	Washburn Emory, Cambridge, Mass.
*Harris Thaddeus M., Dorchester, Mass., 1842.	*Winthrop Thomas L., Boston, Ms., 1841.
Jenks William, Boston, Mass.	Winthrop Robert C., Boston, Mass.
Jones George, Savannah, Ga.	Wright Nathaniel, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Jones Lot, New York.	Woodman Cyrus, Mineral Pt., Wis.
Johnston John, Middletown, Conn.	
Kip William, California.	
Lawrence Wm. B., New York.	
Little Josiah, Newburyport.	

COLLECTIONS.

ARTICLE I.

THE

SCOTCH-IRISH IMMIGRATION TO MAINE,

AND

PRESBYTERIANISM IN NEW ENGLAND:

AN

ADDRESS BEFORE THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

JANUARY 27TH, 1858;

BY WM. WILLIS.

SCOTCH-IRISH IMMIGRATION.

FEW States in our confederacy can claim so great a variety of sources for their population as Maine.

The French, during the first century of colonization, held, with the Indians, exclusive possession of that part of our territory which was situated east of the Penobscot river; and they claimed title and had a divided occupation, by virtue of discovery and patents, as far west as the Kennebec.¹ They never gained indisputable foothold for *Acadia*, west of the Penobscot. Settlements of the French were scattered at intervals over the territory, the principal and most enduring of which was at Castine; other points occupied by them were Mt. Desert, Frenchman's Bay, Machias, and St. Croix. Between the Penobscot and the Kennebec, Dutch, German, Scotch, English, and Irish were intermingled, and their descendants, many of them containing blood of each race, in still increasing numbers, are blending their joint exertions, their distinct origin almost lost, in giving

¹ In 1711 or 1712, the French proposed to settle the dispute by establishing this western boundary at the river St. George, in Lincoln county, to which the British would not consent. But the English, forgetting their former argument, in negotiating the peace of '83, contended that the Kennebec was the western boundary of *Acadia* or *Nova Scotia*. Driven from that point, they insisted on the Penobscot. This also they were obliged to abandon for the St. Croix.

prosperity to the country, which their ancestors first opened to the light of civilization.

The Germans, however, brought over by General Waldo a century ago, and planted at Waldoboro' and its vicinity, but replenished by subsequent immigrations, have retained, more than either of the other races, their primitive manners and language. It is but a few years since, that their ministers adopted the English language in their pulpit ministrations, having previously preached in German. On the Kennebec river, near its mouth, the Scotch from the north of Ireland made early attempts to plant a colony, and were only prevented from making a large and permanent settlement there by the disturbed state of the country.

The pure English race, principally west of England men, took possession of the western portion of the State, and replenished from the same stock in Massachusetts, have transmitted their line in great purity, without much mixture with the other races, to the present day. The importation in the first instance was made by the English proprietors, who sent the farmers, mechanics, and adventurers, who lived in and about Devonshire, to cultivate and improve their large and vacant grants. Of these proprietors Gorges was the honored chief.

After the peace of Utrecht, in Queen Anne's reign, it was hoped that the eastern country would enjoy repose from Indian hostilities. The current of emigration then set strongly toward our shores. Many who had been employed by the wars, in our territory, were inclined to remain, after their term of service had expired. Others were attracted by the low price of land, and the favorable opportunities for lumbering and fishing. Large landed proprietors and speculators were busy at work to improve their possessions, or to secure new fields of enterprise. Falmouth, North Yarmouth, and Brunswick, among the older towns, and the banks of

the Kennebec with a rich virgin soil, invited cultivators and adventurers; and the wilderness eastward began to be sought and occupied, by emigrants from Massachusetts and New Hampshire. At the same period, there were exciting causes in Europe, which turned the attention of its people to seek new homes on this side of the ocean. It is in regard to one of these races, the *Scotch-Irish*, that I propose to give particular attention at this time.

During the Irish rebellions in the reign of Elizabeth, the province of Ulster, embracing the northern counties of Ireland, was depopulated. And it became a favorite project of her successor — James I. — to repeople these counties with a Protestant population, the better to preserve order, and to introduce a higher state of cultivation in that part of his dominions. To promote this object, liberal offers of land and other inducements were proposed throughout England and Scotland, for persons to occupy this wide and vacant territory. The project was eagerly embraced, and companies and colonies were formed, and individuals, without organization, were tempted to partake of the advantageous offers of government. A London company, among the first to enter upon this new acquisition, established themselves at Derry, and gave such a tone and character to the place as that it afterwards took the name of the company, and became the renowned city of Londonderry. The coast of Scotland was within twenty miles of the county of Antrim in Ireland, and across this frith or strait flowed from the northeast a population distinguished for thrift, industry, and endurance, which has given a peculiar and elevated character to that portion of the Emerald island. It is said that the clan McDonald contributed largely to this colonization, and were the first of the Scottish nation to plant on its shores. They scattered themselves chiefly in the counties of Down, Londonderry, and Antrim, and greatly assisted to

build up Newry, Bangor, Derry, and Belfast, the principal cities of those counties.

This was the first Protestant population that was introduced into Ireland, the Presbyterians of Scotland furnishing the principal element; and they have maintained their ascendancy to the present day, against the persevering efforts of the Episcopalians, on the one hand, and the Catholics, bigoted and numerous, by whom they were surrounded, on the other. It was in Ballycarry, in Antrim, and 1613, that the first Presbyterian church in Ireland was established.

The first emigration from Scotland was chiefly from the highlands, where the agricultural resources were scanty, and often wholly cut off, and where the fruits of labor were gathered from a stern soil. The quality of this emigration was not so good, generally, as that which in subsequent years was forced over by persecution, and went principally from the lowlands. Sir Hugh Montgomery, the sixth laird of Braidstone, a friend and follower of King James, was among the earliest to obtain possession of forfeited land in the county of Down, and laid his rough hand on many broad acres.

The clan Alpine, or the McGregors, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, had made themselves very obnoxious to government and their neighbors, by a wild and reckless course of life; and Argyle, the chief of the Campbells, their inveterate foe, having a high influence at court, procured a decree of extermination against them. Their very name and place of residence were to be obliterated. Heavy penalties were proclaimed against all who bore the badge of the clan. Many of them sought refuge from this overwhelming storm in the neighboring island; those who remained, changed their names to those of the families with which they mingled. Descendants from this clan are now found in this country and elsewhere, under the names of

Grier, Greer, Gregor, Gregory, &c., the Mac being dropped. Thus we find that a distinguished judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, in Pennsylvania, — Judge Grier — derives his origin from the same wild tribe which, under the guidance of Rob Roy McGregor, were the terror of the high and lowlands of their native soil. Nor was this change of name confined to that clan, for we are assured that the McKinnons from the Isle of Skye are now McKenna, McKean, McCannon; McNish is McNice, Menees, Munnies, and Monies; Graham has become Graeme, Grimes, Graam, &c. The same occurred in regard to the *Welsh* settlers in Ireland: Ap Rice became Price, Ap Hughes, Hughes, &c., and as such are known among us.

Although the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 against the house of Hanover, made large additions to the Scotch population in the north of Ireland, yet by far the largest accessions to their colonization, were occasioned by religious persecutions in the time of the Stuarts. That fated race, blind to the dictates of justice and humanity, and devoted with sullen bigotry to their peculiar notions in religion and politics, pursued a system of measures best calculated to wean from their support, subjects the most devoted to their cause. It was said of Charles II., that he never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one.

The Scottish race were bound to the Stuarts by a national prejudice and a sincere affection. But they were imbued with a religious enthusiasm, inspired by Knox, their great apostle, which ruled their consciences and rendered the sanctions of a higher law superior to their patriotism and their attachment to their native sovereigns. Rather, they believed that true patriotism consisted in the maintenance of the religion as established and transmitted by their fathers. When, therefore, the two Charles's and James II. endeavoured to introduce prelacy among them, and to force it upon

their consciences by arbitrary laws, and the iron hoofs of the dragoons of Claverhouse, these hardy, persistent, and enduring Presbyterians, having suffered to the bitter end of cruelty and oppression, abandoned the land of their birth, the home of their affections, and sought an asylum among their countrymen in the secure retreats of Ulster. They carried their household gods with them, and their religious peculiarities became more dear in their land of exile, for the dangers and sorrows through which they had borne them.

This is the race, composed of various tribes flowing from different parts of Scotland, which furnishes the materials of the Scotch-Irish immigrations to this country. By their industry, frugality, and skill, they had made the deserted region into which they had moved a comparatively rich and flourishing country. They had improved agriculture, and introduced manufactures; and by the excellence and high reputation of their productions had attracted trade and commerce to their markets, so as to excite the jealousy of government in the reigns of Anne and the first George; notwithstanding that by their efforts and example, the prosperity of the whole island had been promoted, the patronizing government began to recognize them in the shape of taxes, and embarrassing regulations upon their industry and trade. By the 6th of George I. (1719) the Irish nation was placed in legislative dependence on England. By the Statutes about that time enacted, they were excluded from foreign and colonial commerce, from the free export of their own productions, from the right of dealing in their own manufactures, from the benefit of the navigation act, and from the privilege of purchasing in her natural markets. (*Edinb. Rev.*, Oct., 1858.) The same jealousy afterwards governed England, in regard to the American colonies, by which the commerce and enterprise of her subjects on this side of the ocean, were, in like manner, hampered and restricted, so that they were hardly

permitted to manufacture articles of the most common necessity, but were driven to import them from the mother country, as glass, nails, hats, cloths, &c.

These restrictions occasioned general distress not only in the north of Ireland, but throughout the whole island. To which was added an extravagant advance in rents by landlords, whose long leases were now expired. (1 *Doug.* 368.) The energetic and self-willed population of the north, animated by the same spirit which subsequently moved the American mind, determined no longer to endure these oppressive measures. And they sought by another change, to find a free verge for the exercise of their industry and skill, and for the enjoyment of their religion.

One of their spiritual leaders, the Rev. Mr. McGregor, in a sermon which he preached on the eve of the departure from Ireland, assigned the following reasons for their removal to America: 1. To avoid oppressive and cruel bondage; 2. To shun persecution; 3. To withdraw from the communion of idolators; 4. To have an opportunity of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience and his inspired word. He looked at it chiefly from a religious point of view, others from a material and commercial standpoint. And it was undoubtedly suggested and promoted by a variety of motives gradually operating upon the mass of the population, which brought them to the determination, solemn and painful, to sunder the ties which had bound them firmly to their adopted country, and impelled them to seek new and doubtful homes, in a wild, unexplored, and far-distant land.

The first immigration of these people to this country was to the middle and southern colonies. As early as 1684, a settlement was formed in New Jersey, and in 1690, small groups were found in the Carolinas, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. But it was not until the reigns of Anne and George

I., that large numbers, driven by the oppressive measures of government and disastrous seasons, were induced to seek, even in the wilderness, a better home than their old settled region could give them. Gordon says: "Scarcity of corn, generally prevalent, from the discouragement of industry, amounted in 1728 and the following year almost to a famine, especially in Ulster. Emigrations to America, which have since increased, drew above three thousand people annually from Ulster alone." Dr. Boulter, afterwards archbishop of Armagh, who labored strenuously in 1728, to divert the horrors of famine in Ireland, wrote to the English ministry, March 7th, 1728, that there were seven ships then lying at Belfast, that "are carrying off about one thousand passengers; most of them can neither get victuals nor work at home." He also says: "3100 men, women, and children went from Ireland to America in 1727, and 4200 in three years, all Protestants." The principal seats of these emigrations were Pennsylvania and the Middle States. New England was not found so favorable to their farming and other interests. Douglas, who wrote at Boston in 1750, says: "at first they chose New England, but being brought up to husbandry, &c., New England did not answer so well as the colonies southward; at present, they generally resort to Pennsylvania." By Proud's history of Pennsylvania, we find that in 1729, near six thousand arrived in that colony; and before the middle of the century, nearly twelve thousand arrived annually for several years. These were Protestants, and generally Presbyterians; few or no Catholics came, until some time after the Revolution.

The portion of this people who were thinking of New England, before embarking on this hazardous enterprise, sent over a messenger to examine the country, and to report upon its advantages and prospects. He presented to Gov. Shute, of Massachusetts, an address signed by two hundred

and seventeen of his countrymen, dated March 26, 1718, asking for land and privileges of settlement. The communication of the Rev. Wm. Boyd, their agent, was so favorable, that a respectable body of the people resolved at once to seek in the new world, what the old had failed to give,—security for their labor, freedom of religious worship, and repose from persecution. In the summer of 1718, the first organized company of this class of immigrants, of which we have any knowledge, left the shores of Ireland in five vessels, containing one hundred and twenty families, for the new world, and arrived safely in Boston, August 4th, 1718. Here all was new, the wilderness and the world before them. Picture to yourselves this little colony, strangers in a strange land, seeking new homes and not knowing whither to turn; there they lie, at the little wharf near the foot of State street, in the town of Boston, which then contained about twelve thousand inhabitants, taking counsel where to go, and how to dispose of themselves and their little ones, to begin the world anew. With their wonted energy, they were soon astir; one company went to Worcester county, another to Andover and that neighborhood, with Mr. McGregor at their head. Another, with Rev. Mr. Moorhead, established themselves in Boston; and another, composed of twenty families, among whom were the Armstrongs, Means, McKean, and Gregg, set out in their brigantine to explore the eastern country for a place of settlement. After visiting, probably, places farther east, late in autumn, they sought refuge in the harbor of Falmouth, now Portland, where they concluded to winter. This was the first company of that people which came to Maine. The winter was very severe, and they poorly provided for it. There were but few families in the town, all new comers, quite poor, and scantily furnished with shelter and food for themselves, having recently commenced the restoration of that deserted village.

The distress was so great in the town, by this large accession to its numbers, that the inhabitants were compelled to apply to the General Court for relief, stating their griefs and wants in piteous tones. Relief was furnished for "the poor immigrants." This experience was sufficiently discouraging to those sea-worn and weather-beaten voyagers, and Maine seemed to offer no genial home for them. When spring came, they determined to seek a milder climate and more favorable circumstances, and Mr. McKeen, the grandfather of the first president of Bowdoin College, was sent out to explore for a better place. They finally reunited with another portion of their company, in establishing themselves at Nutfield, now Londonderry, in New Hampshire, under the pastoral care of Mr. McGregor. Here they built up a town which they named in honor of their renowned ancestral city, and founded a colony, which has been continually sending forth men and women from their hardy, unexhausted stock, to instruct and adorn society.

A portion of the company which wintered in Falmouth, concluded to remain there; these were John Armstrong, Robert Means, who married his daughter, the posterity of both still remaining here, Wm. Jameson, Wm. Gyles and McDonald. James Armstrong, an infant son of John, born in Ireland, 1717, was with his parents, and they had a son Thomas, born in Falmouth, 1719.

The party which remained in Boston established there, under their pastor John Moorhead, familiarly called Johnny Moorhead, the first Presbyterian society in that place, and occupied the site in Federal street, then called Long Lane, now improved by the Unitarian society under the pastoral care of Dr. Gannett;¹ he was succeeded by the Rev. Rob-

¹ This society, in 1859, sold their meeting house and lot, and purchased a lot at the south end of the city, on which to erect a new church.

ert Annan, a Scotch presbyter, who occupied the pulpit until 1786, when it abandoned the Presbyterian form of worship, settled the distinguished Dr. Belknap, a Congregationalist, in 1787, and became avowedly Unitarian under his successor Dr. Channing. In 1729, that society united with other of their scattered brethren, and established the first presbytery in New England, called the presbytery of Boston.

The company which went to Worcester was persecuted and scattered. They attempted to erect a meeting house in that town, but the people assembled at night and destroyed the frame. The prejudice against them was so violent, that many of them abandoned the town, some going to Pelham in the county of Hampshire, where one of their clergymen, the Rev. Mr. Abercrombie, had collected a society; others followed their pastor, the Rev. John McKinstry, who was settled in Sutton, in Worcester county, in 1720. The prejudice was both national and religious; they were abused as *Irish* by the descendants of Englishmen, a reproach which they greatly resented and could not endure; Mr. McGregor wrote, "We are surprised to hear ourselves termed Irish people;" and on the score of religious government, the Congregationalists had a sharp quarrel with the Presbyterians.

Those who remained in Worcester struggled awhile against a bitter opposition, when most of them abandoned the place, some for their friends in other quarters, and some to plant themselves at Unadilla, on the east bank of the Susquehanna river, in New York. Among the names of the Worcester colony were McGregor, Clark, McKinstry, Gray, Ferguson, Crawford, Graham, Barbour, Blair, and Matthew Thornton, who was then a child, but afterwards distinguished as a prominent statesman in New Hampshire, and signer of the declaration of American Independence.

It is not my intention, in this paper, to follow the fortunes

of this first company of Scotch immigrants into their various removals and trials. This little band of one hundred and twenty families contained the elements of a mighty growth and progress. Besides those we have mentioned, were Duncan, McClintock, Stark, Reid, Bell, Orr, Morrison, and Anderson, who have given vigor to our institutions, and adorned various departments in our civil, military, and ecclesiastical affairs.

This company of immigrants, among other important services rendered to the land of their adoption, introduced the potato plant, which had not before been cultivated in the country; also the linen spinning wheel, and the manufacture of linen. The spinning wheel had not appeared upon our shores until the advent of these strange people, and it produced quite a sensation in Boston. Societies were formed and schools established to teach the art of spinning flax, and the manufacture of its thread. At the first anniversary of its introduction, ladies with their wheels paraded on the common for a trial of skill in spinning, and prizes were awarded. During four years this novelty held its attraction, and then gave way to some new excitement. (*Drake's Boston*, 560.)

The next attempt to introduce this class of emigrants into the country, seems to have been from a source entirely independent of the previous one, although nearly contemporaneous with it. Robert Temple, who had been an officer in the English army and a gentleman of family, was the leader in this enterprise. He was the eldest son of Thomas Temple, who was the eldest son of Sir Purbeck Temple. His great grandfather was Sir John Temple of Stanton Bury, who died in 1632. He conceived the design of establishing himself as a landed proprietor in this country. He says in a letter to the Plymouth proprietors, "In Sept., 1717, I contracted with Capt. James Luzmore of Topsham, to bring

me, my servants and what little effects I had to Boston." He was introduced by letters from his uncle Nathaniel White, a merchant in Plymouth, to some of the leading men in New England, such as Belcher, Hutchinson, Oliver and Pepperell, who might be of service to him in "taking up a tract of land." He says, "I was received with great friendship by every one of these gentlemen and was often invited to their houses." But, he continues, "my eye was always toward a good tract of land as well as a convenient place for navigation." He went first to Connecticut to examine that country. On his return, he says, "I was resolved to see the eastern country also, before I should determine where to begin my settlement." He was recommended to the Pejepscot proprietors, Col. Winthrop, Dr. Noyes, and Col. Minot, who took him down to the Kennebec, to see their land. But he gave the preference to land on the east side of the river, which belonged to Col. Hutchinson and the Plymouth Co. He became a partner in that concern, and engaged to bring a colony to it. The same year 1718, he chartered two large ships, and the next year three more to bring families from Ireland to carry on the settlement. In consequence of these arrangements, there were landed several hundred families on the shores of the Kennebec river, in various locations, from the mouth to Merrymeeting bay, in the years 1719 and 1720. Some of the families settled on the Topsham shore, which received its name probably from Temple's place of departure, on his first voyage, a town which stands near the mouth of the river Ex, and is the port of Exeter; another portion settled in the northerly part of Bath on a beautiful tract of land stretching along on Merrymeeting bay to the Androscoggin and was called Cork and sometimes Ireland, from the country of the settlers, which name it still retains; others straggled along on the eastern side of the bay and river, and descendants from them still occupy and improve

portions of the country. Col. Winthrop, in compliment to Temple, named the Chops, where the bay discharges its accumulated waters into the estuary, Temple Bar. The familiar Scotch names McFadden, McGowen, McGoun, Thom, Vincent, Hamilton, Johnston, Malcom, McLellan, Crawford, Graves, Ward, Given, Dunning, Simpson, still live to remind the present generation of the land from which their ancestors derived their origin.

But unhappily, for the growth and prosperity of these industrious and frugal people, the Indian troubles, which resulted in Dummer's or Lovell's war as it was often called, soon after commenced, broke up the settlements which had begun to assume a flourishing aspect, and scattered the colonists from their new abodes; some sought a refuge with their countrymen at Londonderry, "but the greatest part removed to Pennsylvania."

Although some of these immigrants remained, still we cannot but perceive the great loss our State must have sustained in the flight of much the largest portion of the several hundred families which Temple planted on our shores. In the summer of 1722, nine families were captured in Merry-meeting Bay by the Indians; Brunswick and Georgetown were destroyed and deserted; at the latter place fifty head of cattle were killed and twenty-six houses were burnt by the enemy. Temple himself remained, having received a commission from Gov. Shute, and rendered good service in defense of the country. But all of no avail.

Temple was a young man when he undertook this responsible enterprise; and notwithstanding his misfortunes he remained in the country, and by his personal efforts rendered to our country honorable and useful service. His posterity are still doing it honor. He married in 1727 Mehitable, the daughter of John Nelson of Gray's Inn, London, whose wife was a daughter of Sir John Temple, the great grand-

father of Robert, so that two branches of this honorable family were reunited. By her he had six children, the eldest, Robert, married a daughter of Gov. Shirley, the second, John, became a baronet, and married a daughter of Gov. Bowdoin of Massachusetts. Their daughter Elizabeth married Thomas L. Winthrop of Massachusetts, and they were the parents of Mrs. Benjamin Tappan of Augusta, Robert C. Winthrop of Boston, and twelve other children. So that, if this adventurer Robert, who in 1717 was seeking a farm in New England, had brought only himself, he would have conferred a great benefit on the country in the numerous, useful, and illustrious descendants, who, springing from him, have adorned our annals.

Temple was living on Noddle's Island, now East Boston, in 1742; and in 1753 he occupied the celebrated Ten Hill farm in Charlestown, which had been owned and occupied by the first Gov. Winthrop, with whose family he became connected by the marriage, in 1787, of his granddaughter, Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple, with a descendant of the Governor, the Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop. Thus were united the Huguenot Bowdoin family, the first comers of which to this country settled in that part of Falmouth in our State, which is now Portland, in 1686; the Winthrop family, descendants of the first Governor and founder of Massachusetts, and the old and honored Irish Temple family, of which the present Prime Minister of England, Lord Palmerston, is a member.

After the restoration of peace with the Indians, which followed the death of Rallé, and the breaking up of the Norridgwock tribe, the deserted places on the eastern shore began gradually to be occupied. Some of the old settlers returned, and new adventurers sought the vacant seats. Speculators had already entered the field, and the territory of Sagadahoc, which in a large sense embraced all the coun-

try from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, was eagerly sought after, for the timber, the manufacture of turpentine, and the culture of hemp. The attempt and hope were to separate it from the Massachusetts government, and establish there an independent colony.

This was the project of Col. Dunbar, a native of Ireland of Scottish descent, who succeeded, by aid of his friends in 1729, in obtaining a commission as Governor of the territory. He had previously been commissioned as Surveyor General of the woods, with a view to secure the forests from depredation, that the timber might be appropriated for the British navy. He selected Fort Frederick at Pemaquid, as the seat of his government, and was placed in possession of the Fort by a detachment of troops from Nova Scotia in 1730,—a force which was constantly required to enable him to maintain his power against the rightful claims of Massachusetts.

The country was a great gainer by his wise and judicious administration. He took immediate measures to improve and occupy the land, and for this purpose he invited his own countrymen, the Scotch-Irish, by liberal inducements of land and privileges, to settle in his province. He granted one hundred acre lots on Pemaquid in the neighborhood of the fort, laid out and improved a large farm for himself, and ceded to his countrymen, Montgomery, Campbell, and McCobb, the towns of Bristol, Nobleboro', and Boothbay, to which he gave the names of Harrington, Walpole, and Townsend, in honor of distinguished statesmen in England. These grantees went earnestly to the work of improving their wide domains; and in the course of two or three years, more than one hundred and fifty families, principally of Scotch descent, were introduced into this territory. Some were drawn from the older settlements of this stock in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and some were fresh colonists

from Ireland. They had their pastor, the Rev. Robert Rutherford, and their Presbyterian institutions, which they cherished with unyielding tenacity, through the various trials, removals, and conflicts which they endured in building up and establishing new homes in the wilderness.

Throughout those towns, and scattered far beyond, over the whole State, are the descendants of these colonists; and we trace in the respectable names of McCobb, Campbell, Montgomery, McClintock, Huston, McLean, McKeen, McFarland, Caldwell, Dick, Forbush, Brown, and McIntyre, the offspring of men who once trod in pride and power the land "of brown heath and shaggy wood," who wandered on the beautiful banks of Ayr, or reposed in the shade of Etrich, or mustered for the fray at the pibroch's spirit-stirring sound and the shrill slogan of the McGregor.

There were two McCobbs who led the immigration to Boothbay, Samuel and James, the former born in 1707 and living until 1791, James dying earlier, and both leaving children and grandchildren to extend the activity and usefulness of their ancestors. Wm. McCobb, the grandson of Samuel, is now living in that town. Boothbay, their principal seat, long retained, and still does, the impress of this hardy race in their daily customs and religious observances. It was not until the present century, that their descendants slowly and reluctantly yielded their Presbyterian usages, for the Congregational form of worship. The memory of their distinguished Elder, John Murray, whose ministry of thirteen years terminated in 1779, is still fresh and fragrant in that secluded portion of our State.

But Massachusetts had no idea of permitting this excrescence of a foreign government to exist within her territory and jurisdiction. After protesting against the usurpations of Dunbar, in paper declarations, she employed agents to make personal appeals to the home government. Samuel

Waldo, who had an interest in the territory as patentee, was sent as special representative to aid the resident agent in abating what they believed to be a nuisance. They were successful; the government of Dunbar was terminated in August, 1732, and the jurisdiction restored to Massachusetts. Dunbar, while he had power, built a fine house at Pemaquid, laid out ornamental and useful grounds, and accomplished more in the short time he held power, than Massachusetts had done in many years. The immediate presence of an active and enterprising government, looking after the concerns and providing for the wants and comfort of its subjects, had an effect which a remote government, engaged in political quarrels with its subjects, and seeking increase of power and influence for itself, could not accomplish.

Dunbar returned to England in 1737, where he was committed to prison for debt, afterwards released by the liberality of his friends, and in 1743 was appointed Governor of St. Helena, since rendered famous by the exile of a more distinguished ruler than this early governor. His widow married one Henderson and was living at George's in 1776, in a house built by her first husband. (*Depos. of Benj. Plumer, Coms.' Rep.*)

Samuel Waldo, having seen the benefit arising from the admirable class of immigrants which had been introduced into the neighborhood of his ample possessions, lying between the St. George and the Penobscot rivers, profited by the valuable example. He took prompt measures to people his territory with a like energetic and thrifty population. He first examined the resources of his land, and in 1734, most fortunately discovered the invaluable quarries of limestone, which have to this day been a source of continued wealth and prosperity to the inhabitants. The first movements in the manufacture of lime, which are now very extended, were so small, that the lime was shipped to Boston in molasses

casks. The St. George river, on which the first settlements were made, afforded fine mill sites, and the forests an abundant supply of timber.

With these superior natural advantages and the liberal offers of the proprietor, it is no wonder that adventurers were attracted from various quarters to improve opportunities so freely and largely opened to them. Waldo, with a forecast and judgment sharpened in the conflicts of business in the commercial capital of the country, by foreign travel, and a large intercourse with society, saw the advantage to be gained by selecting for his colony persons of the same hardy and thrifty race as those who were giving life to the neighboring towns. His first settlers, received in 1735, were all of Scotch descent from the north of Ireland, some of them of recent immigration, others had been in the country from the first arrival in 1718. This company consisted of twenty-seven families, each of which was furnished with one hundred acres of land lying upon the banks of the St. George, in Warren. In the following year, they commenced erecting their houses and forming their new habitations. These people of one nation, animated by a common sentiment, formed the first colony planted upon the Waldo patent. The names of some of these pioneers will show how much our State is indebted to the enterprising spirit of the proprietor, for early placing upon our soil these most useful and valuable settlers. Among them were Alexander North, Patterson, Howard, McLean, Killpatrick, McCracken, Spear, Blair, Creighton, Morrison, Nelson, Starrett, and others, whose posterity, spread over our territory, have been and still are exhibiting the fine qualities of their sturdy race in the various departments of our many sided life. The first population of Warren was thus composed, and Gen. Waldo was continually affording encouragement to them in the erection of mills, and opening for them commercial advantages.

About 1740, a sad and unexpected event furnished an accession of their countrymen to the infant colony. A ship from the north of Ireland, called the "Grand Design," laden with immigrants of superior wealth and connections, and large and valuable stores, provisions, and property, and servants, for the establishment of a colony in Pennsylvania to which they were bound, was wrecked upon Mt. Desert. The island and neighboring coast were entirely uninhabited and desolate, and could furnish no means of comfort and support for the wrecked passengers and crew. Nor had they any means of communicating with settled parts of the country. Many died from exhaustion and destitution, and one hundred of the party, able and vigorous young men, dispatched to the main to seek assistance, miserably perished in the wilderness. After many months of suffering, they were discovered by a party of Indians, which accidentally visited the island, who communicated their situation to the settlers at Warren and Damariscove, and immediate efforts were successfully taken to rescue the survivors. A portion, sixteen of them, established themselves among their countrymen in Warren, the others at Pemaquid, Sheepscoot, and Damariscotta.

The war with France, of 1744, interrupted the further settlement of the country for several years, and disturbed the peaceful and profitable pursuits of the people. Many of the inhabitants of the eastern settlements, which lay principally on and near the coast, abandoned their farms, and sought protection in more secure places at the west. After the peace of 1749, most of them returned and renewed their industrial pursuits.

To supply the losses occasioned by the war, and still further to advance the prosperity of his estate, Gen. Waldo, in 1753, sent his son Samuel to Germany, while he himself went to England, to invite settlers to his territory. They

both succeeded: the son brought over the first permanent colony of Germans which was introduced into Maine;¹ while the father formed a company in Scotland of sixty adults and a number of children, which embarked in the summer of 1753, and reached George's river in September. These were principally mechanics, and were settled in the western part of Warren, to which they gave the name of Stirling, the ancient royal city of their country. Among these were Anderson, Malcom, Miller, Crawford, Carswell, Johnston, and Auchmuty, whose names are not unrecorded in our history, and who have contributed, by their industry, skill, and ability, to advance the prosperity of the country.

This we believe to have been the last immigration of people of Scottish extraction to our eastern shores prior to the Revolution. Scotland, a country no larger than Maine, with a population, then, not more than double of what Maine now has, with agricultural and other resources by no means equal to ours, has contributed largely, by emigration, to furnish prominent settlers for many other lands; and has contributed to the nation with which she is now connected, profound statesmen and thinkers, brilliant writers, and men the most renowned in every department of scientific and philosophical research. Surely Maine ought to congratulate herself that so large a basis of her population was laid on so sound and durable a foundation. These people expressed a decided preference for the Middle States in which to establish themselves, rather than New England. But I think it was not solely on account of the sternness of its soil, or its less favorable agricultural advantages; for in both these particulars it was superior to Ulster, or their own cherished Scotland. But there was a more free and full enjoyment

¹ The Dutch colony, sent by the Duke of York to Sheepscot, was of course prior, but of short duration.

of their religious peculiarities in the midland colonies, which they prized above all earthly advantages, than in New England. This was the peculiar land of Congregationalism or Independency; and there was little harmony between Presbyterianism and Independency, either in the old world or the new. Although they did not in the early time differ much in their religious dogmas or platforms, if they did at all in substance, both adopting the Westminster Assembly's confession of faith, yet in the form of government they were irreconcilable and bitterly hostile; the spirit and temper which prevailed at the birth of the two systems has not in our day wholly subsided.

Independency was introduced into England in 1616. Puritanism, which embraces both orders of dissenters, had its origin in Elizabeth's time, in her attempt to cause subscriptions to be made to the liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline of the church in 1564. Those who refused were called Puritans, by way of reproach. When the doctrines of Arminius began to prevail in the English church, the Puritans adhered to the system of Calvin, and were defined to be men of severe morals, Calvinists in doctrine, and non-conformists to the ceremonies and discipline of the church. (*Neal's Pur.* 1, 5.)

Presbyterianism may date its origin from Calvin, although he did not give it the form and shape which it afterwards assumed. Independency owes its birth to that noble servant of God, John Robinson of Leyden, father of the Plymouth church. John Knox, who took lessons from Calvin in Geneva, admired, and carried home to Scotland, the principles of the great reformer. In 1561, he composed his first book of discipline, which contained the substance of his intended policy. In 1566, a General Assembly approved the discipline; and all church affairs after that time, were managed by presbyteries and General Assemblies. They did

not then formally deprive the bishops, who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Scotland, of their power, but they went on firmly and gradually doing it, as they acquired confidence and strength. In 1574, they voted bishops to be only pastors of one parish; in 1577, they decreed that bishops should be called by their own names, and the next year they declared the name of a bishop to be a nuisance. In 1580, they pronounced with one voice in the General Assembly, that diocesan episcopacy was unscriptural and unlawful. The same year, King James and his family, with the whole Scottish nation, subscribed to a confession of faith, embracing the "solemn league and covenant," obliging them to maintain the Protestant doctrine and Presbyterian government. Thus in the space of twenty years grew up this formal, extensive, and powerful institution, twining itself over the Scottish nation with stern and inflexible bands, which death only could sunder; and for which—merely a question of church government,—where no substantial principle of religion was involved, home, country, life—every thing beside—were freely given up.

The distinction in the early stage of the establishment of this ecclesiastical system, out of Scotland at least, was not so strongly marked as it is at this day. The learned and liberal Archbishop Usher, of Ireland, expressly declared that a bishop and presbyter differed only in grade, not in order, and consequently where bishops could not be had, the ordination by presbyters stands valid. Being asked by the king, whether he found in antiquity that presbyters alone ordained any, he replied, "Yes, and more,—even that presbyters alone had successively ordained bishops." This was the opinion of Cranmer, Sewell, and other of the first reformers. Bishop Burnett also says, "As for the notion of distinct officers of bishop and presbyter, I confess it is not clear to me."

This, however, it must be remembered, is on the Episcopal side: I do not think a Scotch presbyter was ever brought to make a similar liberal admission; especially after the General Assembly pronounced a bishop a nuisance. The case and statement of Robert Blair, one of the most distinguished Presbyterian ministers of the age in which he lived, clearly sets forth the different feelings and temper of the two parties. He was strenuously opposed to Episcopacy in Scotland, and was invited over to Ireland, about 1634, to aid the church established there. He says: "My noble patron did, on my request, inform the bishop how opposite I was to Episcopacy and their liturgy; yet lest his lordship had not been plain enough, I declared my opinion fully to the bishop at our first meeting, in respect to my ordination. The bishop said to me, 'I hear good of you, and will impose no condition on you, I am old and can teach you ceremonies, you can teach me substance; only I must ordain you, else neither you nor I can answer the law nor brook the land.' I answered that his sole ordination did utterly contradict my principles. But he replied, both wittily and submissively, 'Whatever you account of Episcopacy, yet I know you to account Presbytery to have a divine warrant; will you not receive ordination from Mr. Cunningham and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation than a presbyter?' This I could not refuse, and so the matter ended." (*Hall*, 3, 73.) Under Archbishop Usher, who was primate of Ireland in the reign of Charles I., and the conciliatory articles of compromise drawn up by him, the Presbyterians found no difficulty in uniting with the Episcopalians in Ireland, in a common communion. They were allowed to omit such parts of the liturgy as was displeasing to them, or lay it wholly aside. This amnesty continued until Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford began to exercise their iron rule, when all conciliatory meas-

ures were abandoned, and religious sects outside of the pale of Episcopacy had to wage a death-struggle, not only for their forms, but their lives.

The first Presbyterian church was established in 1613, in the village of Ballycarry, under the ministry of the Rev. Edward Brice. (*Hall*, 3, 122.) Till the year 1634, the Protestant church in that country was an independent, national establishment, distinct from that of England. It owed this immunity to the liberal confession drawn up by Usher, then Professor of Divinity in Dublin, and unanimously adopted by a convocation of the Irish Protestant clergy. (*Hall*, 3, 73, *from Dr. Reid*.)

Still the Presbyterians, both of Scotland and Ireland, were found more favorable to Episcopacy, than to the Independents, and while they were opposed to the despotic tendencies of the king, they were no less opposed to the republicanism of the parliament, and it is well known that they protested against the trial of the king, and denounced his execution as murder. The testimony of the presbytery of Belfast, sustaining this protest, drew a spirited and harsh reply from John Milton, the renowned secretary of Cromwell, and the sturdy advocate of Independency.

But the Presbyterian church was not destined to a harmonious existence, in the country where it was established and principally prevailed. Early in the last century, there was found to be a serious falling off from the doctrines of the Westminster confession, both in Scotland and Ireland; so that the Calvinists were actually in a minority, and unable to enforce the discipline of the church. In 1733, the Calvinists withdrew from the church, and formed a separate organization, which went by the name of the "Seceders." (*Hall*, 3, 76.) In Ireland, a similar division took place, and the non-subscribers to the Westminster confession separated, and formed the presbytery of Antrim. At the

commencement of the present century, the synods of Ulster and Munster were non-subscribers to the Calvinistic theology, and the greater part of their members were Arians or Unitarians, while the Cameronians and Seceders adhered strictly to the Calvinistic system. The Cameronians claimed to be the only genuine representatives of the old Covenanters.

The Presbyterians of Ireland may be classed under the following heads: (1845 — *Hall*, 3, 79.)

1. The General Assembly of Presbyterian churches in Ireland, Calvinists, upwards of four hundred and forty congregations.

2. The non-subscribing Presbyterian Association, Arians, twenty-seven congregations.

3. Cameronians or Covenanters, strict Calvinists, thirty congregations.

4. The Primitive Seceders, Calvinists, six congregations.

5. The Seceders, who refused to unite with the synod of Ulster, and enter the General Assembly, in 1840, Calvinists, ten or twelve congregations.

The whole Presbyterian population of Ireland, in 1734, according to government census, was near 700,000. In the province of Ulster, in 1733, there were, according to Dr. Douglas, 62,624 Protestant families and 38,459 Popish.

Presbyterianism has not flourished in England as it has in Scotland and Ireland: the first church of that denomination was established near London, in 1572; those at the present time, which bear that name, have generally abandoned both the form of church government and the theological dogmas of the founders, and become Independent in form, and Unitarian in belief, — retaining nothing, in fact, of the original system but its name.

Having given this brief view of the position of Presbyterianism in Great Britain, we shall find on returning to its

history in this country, that it has retained its purity and influence to a greater extent than in the seat of its birth and former power.

I concur with Dr. Hodge, of Princeton College, the central point of Presbyterianism in this country, that the Presbyterian church in the United States does not owe its existence to Congregationalism. There is, however, no doubt that in the early settlement of the country, where the population was thin and scattered, congregations were formed composed of all sects of Christians. The form was not then so much considered, as the enjoyment of religious worship and the rites of the church. And as the majorities of any one sect prevailed, they gave the tone to the kind of government which was eventually assumed. This fastened Congregationalism on New England, and gave overwhelming success to Presbyterianism in the Middle States. The same principle planted Episcopacy in Virginia, which placed the cavaliers upon her soil.

I also agree with Dr. Hodge, that assent to the Westminster confession has always been a condition of ministerial communion in the Presbyterian church, in this country. The first immigrants, fresh from persecution, brought their rigid tenets entire with them, fastened to their consciences and their minds as with hooks of steel; and they have been cherished by the sect with much more uniformity and firmness, than in the mother country of the faith. Persons who did not originally hold the faith, or wavered from it, joined other communions more congenial to their principles.

It seems to be well established, that the first Presbyterian church in the United States was formed by a company of Scotch emigrants, in Upper Marlboro', Maryland, about the year 1690; they went there with their pastor at that time. Another society of the same denomination was formed about the same period, at Snowhill, in the same State, com-

posed of English Episcopalians and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. In 1692, two churches of this denomination were constituted in Freehold and Woodbridge, in New Jersey, one composed of Scotch, the other a union of Scotch and New England emigrants. The first Presbyterian church in Philadelphia was established in 1698, and Rev. Jedediah Andrews of Boston was the same year chosen their pastor. At this time there was no presbytery formed in America; and those churches, therefore, which did not bring their pastors with them, must have acted on Congregational principles in the election and formation of their respective societies. That these societies originally acted independently of each other, cannot be doubted, but about the year 1705, they united and constituted the presbytery of Philadelphia, the first established in this country. In a letter written by this presbytery to that in Dublin, in 1710, they give the following account of themselves: "In all Virginia, we have one small congregation on Elizabeth river, and some few families favoring our way in Rappahannoc and York; in Maryland four, in Pennsylvania five, in the Jerseys two; these make up all the bounds from which we have any members, and at present some of these are vacant." Beside these, there were some small societies in South Carolina, and others were soon established in New York; the first in the latter place was in 1719.

These have continued to increase and flourish in that portion of our country more than any other denomination; while in New England, after a struggle of fifty years, the general assembly, the synod, the presbytery, and the church disappeared, and the sect became merged principally in the Congregational order; the large majority retaining the Calvinistic principles, a few became Unitarians and Arians.

The history of Presbyterianism in New England is brief; it came into the stronghold of Independency, where forms

and church government were little respected, and where simplicity and substance were esteemed paramount in the relations of earth and heaven, — “A church without a bishop, a state without a king.” The immigrants, firmly fixed and rooted in their ecclesiastical system, carried it with them wherever they went, and while the fathers lived, it was firmly cherished and maintained. The first church of the order was planted with the colony in Londonderry, in 1719. This place and neighborhood continued to be the headquarters of the sect for many years. The church in Boston, under Rev. John Moorhead, was established about the same time, which continued until 1786, under him and his successor Robert Annan, to adhere to its original faith. The company which went to Worcester undertook to form a society and erect a church in that place, but they were shamefully abused and driven off. Pelham, where the Rev. Mr. Abercrombie had formed a Presbyterian congregation, received a portion of them, others went to Londonderry, New York, and Pennsylvania. The Rev. John McKinstry was settled at Sutton, in 1720, over a society composed of Congregationalists and Presbyterians, but there was so little harmony between the two orders, that the relation was dissolved, and the pastor, with a portion of his countrymen, afterwards settled in Ellington, Conn. Mr. McKinstry was educated at Edinburgh University, and was a man of good abilities, but disagreement on questions of church government kept his society in a constant ferment, until 1728, when he took a dismission and moved on toward his brethren in New York; but resting on his way at East Windsor, in Connecticut, he was persuaded to take charge of a parish in that town, which afterwards became the town of Ellington, where he died in 1754, aged 77.

In 1746, the Presbyterian church in Newburyport was established, and the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, who had been

settled in Lyme, Conn., was called to be their pastor, a man of distinguished character and abilities. In September of the same year, they united with the presbytery of Boston. There was a Presbyterian church in Seabrook, over which Rev. Samuel Perley, afterwards of Gray, in this State, presided, and another in Newmarket, N. H.

But after all, I think there was no part of New England so strongly imbued with Presbyterian principles, as that portion of Maine which lies between the Kennebec and the Penobscot. In fact, the population at one time was nearly all Presbyterian, from the circumstance that the Scotch immigrants from Ireland had taken possession of the prominent points of that territory. The first and principal of these settlements was at Georgetown, on the Kennebec River. Here a fragment of Temple's colony collected, after the close of Dummer's war, and established a town, embracing not only the island, but a portion of the mainland. In 1734, the Rev. Mr. McClanathan was invited to preach there, by the majority, consisting of thirty male Presbyterian church members; the minority, who were Congregationalists, opposed him, and a dissension was kept up during the period of ten years that he occasionally preached to them. Some of the troubles were owing to the temper of the man, who seems to have been ardent and impulsive, if not irascible, and strongly wedded to his peculiar forms. In 1736 he was at Cape Elizabeth, where several Scotch immigrants were settled and where a severe controversy was carried on to the great annoyance of the people and the neighboring churches.

A council was called to compose the controversy, but without accomplishing anything; Rev. Mr. Smith in his *Journal* says, "November 15 Mr. McClanathan installed, I had a clash with him." He did not continue long in Cape Elizabeth; in 1748 he was preaching in Chelsea, Mass., where

he aroused a severe opposition. About 1755 he became a convert to the Episcopal church, and was employed by the society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, to revisit his former field of labor on the Kennebec. At last in 1758 he removed to Pennsylvania, where we gladly leave him.

Rev. Alexander Boyd, a young Scotch minister, came to this society as an occasional preacher, but they abandoned Presbyterianism in 1764. Mr. Boyd had left them before that time, and was ordained in 1754 over a church of his denomination in Newcastle; the ordination took place in Newburyport where Presbyterian elders could be had. The opposition from the Congregational part of the parish was so great, that he was dismissed in 1758.

The first minister of the sect who came to Maine was the Rev. Robert Rutherford, who belonged to the company of Dunbar of 1730. He preached at Pemaquid and the neighboring places, without ever having had a permanent settlement; in 1737 he preached at Brunswick. He died in October, 1756, aged 68, at Thomaston.

The next regular parish which placed itself under the protecting care of the presbytery was that at Brunswick, over which the Rev. Robert Dunlap was settled in 1747. He was born in the County of Antrim in 1715 of genuine Scotch stock, educated at Edinburgh, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Boston. But like the other parishes, the Congregational element increased in this until it overwhelmed the pastor and the presbytery, and Mr. Dunlap was dismissed in 1760 by a council of Congregational ministers. He died in 1776. He was grandfather of Ex-Gov. Dunlap.

In 1762 Rev. Thomas Pierce received Presbyterian ordination at Newburyport over the parish at Scarboro'. He died in 1775, and his parish renounced Presbyterianism, and ordained the Rev. Thomas Lancaster according to Congregational usage.

But the most distinguished of the Presbyterian clergymen, who have taken Maine for their field of labor, was undoubtedly the Rev. John Murray; he came quite young from the County of Antrim after having received a collegiate education at Edinburgh. He arrived at New York and came to Boothbay in 1763. He became very popular as a preacher, and his services were sought in several places. But he then declined all invitations for a permanent settlement, and proceeded to Pennsylvania. Early in 1766 he returned to Boothbay, formed a church there, the largest probably then in the State, gathered from several towns, he being at that time the only settled minister east of Woolwich. He was exceedingly popular wherever he preached, and labored zealously throughout that region, gathering many to his church and producing a great revival. His custom in celebrating the communion was to have a table spread in the center aisle of the church which was made broad for the purpose; on some occasions it extended from the pulpit into the porch of the church, to accommodate the large number of communicants who seated themselves at the table. Mr. Murray continued his successful and acceptable labors at Boothbay until 1779, when he accepted the urgent and often repeated invitations of the Presbyterian church in Newburyport, made vacant by the death of their pastor, the Rev. Jonathan Parsons. He continued in that service until his death in 1793. He preached for Mr. Smith in Portland in 1764, but being there again in 1772 and in 1787, he was not invited to preach, which produced some dissatisfaction. Mr. Smith's Congregationalism was of a sturdy cast, while the people were desirous of hearing eloquent preaching even from Presbyterian lips. He says in 1772 "the people are in a sad toss about Murray's not being asked to preach;" and in 1787 he says "a great uproar about Murray's not preaching."

Bristol, which stretched over Pemaquid, covering the whole of that long promontory, was early the seat of Presbyterianism. The settlers under Dunbar occupied that territory, and they had enjoyed the preaching of Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Murray. Both of these divines had departed, and the whole of this eastern territory was left destitute of stated preaching. The people of Bristol in 1770 earnestly desiring a supply, sent to no less a source than Dr. Witherspoon of Princeton, New Jersey, the head quarters of the denomination; and he sent them Alexander McLean, a native of Scotland. He was ordained in 1772, and continued their pastor until 1795, when he was dismissed on account of ill health, and the people by a formal vote adopted the Congregational form. He died in 1805.

The next Presbyterian clergyman introduced into the State was Rev. John Urquhart, who came from North Britain in 1774, and was settled in Warren in 1775, where he continued eight years, until he was regularly removed by the Presbytery of Salem in 1783. After that he preached a short time at Topsham, and in 1785 was installed at Ellsworth. But troubles arising in that church similar to those which had invaded and infested other Presbyterian churches in the State, he left his society and the State in 1790.

These were all the Presbyterian societies established in our territory previous to the Revolution; after that event a few spasmodic attempts were made to revive the usages of that denomination among us, but they perished almost at their birth. In Gray, Rev. Samuel Perley, who had been settled in Seabrook, N. H., was installed in 1784, but his ministrations ceased in 1791. He died in 1831, aged eighty-nine.

Dr. Nathaniel Whitaker, a man of considerable talent and reputation, was installed the same year at Canaan, a new settlement on the Kennebec river. He was ordained

by the Salem Presbytery, then ready to perish, consisting of Dr. Whitaker, Mr. Perley, Mr. Strickland, and Mr. Urquhart, who were all then destitute of parishes, except Mr. Perley who had just been installed; Mr. Strickland was at the same time installed at Turner, by this itinerant presbytery, and Mr. Urquhart the next year at Ellsworth. But the ministrations of these lingering and last members of the Presbyterian church in Maine speedily came to a close. Dr. Whitaker, who had been settled in Norwich, Ct., and Salem, Mass., was dismissed from Canaan in 1789, and died in 1795, aged about eighty-five. Mr. Urquhart left the State in 1790. Mr. Perley was dismissed in 1791, and Mr. Strickland dismissed from Turner, was installed in Andover, as a Congregational minister, in 1806. He died in 1823, aged eighty-four.

Notwithstanding Presbyterian churches began to be formed in 1719, in New England, no presbytery was established until about 1729. This was named the Boston Presbytery, and consisted of Rev. John Moorhead of Boston, Mr. McGregor of Londonderry, Mr. Abercrombie of Pelham, and Elders James McKean and others. Rev. Jonathan Parsons of the First Presbyterian church in Newburyport, and several other churches, afterwards joined it; and they continued to hold regular meetings until 1754. From this time no record of any meeting exists until 1770, when the presbytery consisted of twelve churches, scattered in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine. It was soon after divided into three presbyteries, and then formed into one synod, which held its first meeting at Londonderry, in September, 1776. The three presbyteries took the names of places where churches were established, viz: Salem, Londonderry, and Pelham.

This organization was kept up five years, when, from the diminished number of members, the synod was dissolved,

and they agreed to form themselves into one presbytery, that of Salem, of which Dr. Whitaker, then of that place, an ardent and zealous member of the order, was the *facile princeps*, the head and leader. He was assisted by the Rev. Samuel Perley, then of Seabrook, Rev. Mr. Strickland of Oakham, and Mr. Urquhart of Maine. This was in 1782, and for two years they held meetings regularly in various parts of Massachusetts. The last meeting of this or any presbytery held in Massachusetts, was at Groton, in June, 1784, when they adjourned to meet at Gray, in Maine, where Mr. Perley was preaching, and henceforth Presbyterianism, as a distinct organization, ceased to exist in the old State.

Only four members attended the adjournment at Gray, viz : Messrs. Whitaker, Perley, Strickland, and Urquhart, neither of whom had a parish. And the three first named, persevering to the end, attended the closing meeting of this presbytery, and of Presbyterian organization in New England, which was held in Gray, Sept. 14, 1791. Subsequently, the surviving Presbyterian churches united to form the presbytery of Londonderry, embracing the churches of that and neighboring places, two in Newburyport, and some others in New Hampshire. In 1850, this presbytery still existed nominally, containing two churches in Massachusetts, and ten in New Hampshire. (*Hist. of Lond.*, 133.)

ARTICLE II.

THE EARLY LAWYERS

OF

LINCOLN AND KENNEBEC COUNTIES.

BY

HON. FREDERIC ALLEN.

THE following article, containing sketches of the early lawyers in Lincoln and Kennebec Counties, was prepared for the Society, by the Hon. Frederic Allen, of Gardiner, who has been a distinguished practitioner in those counties for more than fifty years. Mr. Allen was elected a member of this Society in the year of its incorporation, 1822. He is a native of the Old Colony, fruitful in eminent men; he studied his profession partly with Kilborn Whitman of Pembroke, partly in Boston, and commenced practice in Waldoborough, in the county of Lincoln, in 1806; two years after, he moved to Gardiner, where he has ever since resided, having had a very extensive practice in the counties of Lincoln, Kennebec, and Somerset, and adorned his profession by learning, ability, and an unblemished life. It is a graceful act of his ripened years, to revive the memories of the able predecessors and contemporaries, who have dignified, with him, the same field of arduous and useful labor.

Among his competitors at the bar, were the late Judges Bridge, Wilde, Bailey, and Crosby, Samuel Thatcher, Thomas Bond, Reuel Williams, Silas Lee, Timothy Boutelle, John Wilson, Benjamin Orr, Peleg Sprague, George Evans; of whom, Thatcher, Williams, Sprague, and Evans only survive.

Of the lawyers who were in practice through the State fifty years ago, the following are now alive, none of whom continue at the bar: Judges Whitman, Emery, Weston, and Potter, Samuel Thatcher — the oldest lawyer in the State, now residing at Bangor, — Reuel Williams, Frederic Allen, Jacob McGaw, Thomas A. Hill, Horatio Southgate, Woodbury Storer, Wm. Freeman, now at Cherryfield, John Wadsworth at Hiram, and Wm. B. Sewall at Kennebunk. I may add Gen. Samuel Fessenden of Portland, who was admitted to practice in 1809, and still continues, at the age of seventy-five, with strong hand and stout heart, to fight over the forensic battles of his youth.

These, compared with the limited number of practitioners at that early day, show a very favorable condition of longevity in the profession. The oldest of the above being over eighty-three, while the youngest has advanced beyond seventy-three years.

W. W.

EARLY LAWYERS.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:—

THE undersigned, presuming that it might be in accordance with the design and object of the institution to preserve some memorial of the early state, and characteristics of the members, of the legal profession, in the several counties of the State, has employed some hours of leisure in sketching, from tradition, and from personal observation, a brief notice of those members of the bar who have resided in the comparatively ancient county of Lincoln,—who have deceased.

Prior to 1760, the whole State, then the province of Maine, was embraced within the county of York. In that year the counties of Cumberland and Lincoln were incorporated. In the act of incorporation, a line is described for the easterly boundary of York, which was to be the westerly boundary of Cumberland. And another line was described for the easterly boundary of Cumberland, which was the westerly boundary of Lincoln, which county extended east to Nova Scotia; and extending from the sea, on the south, to the utmost limits of the province, on the north. This extensive territory formed the county of Lincoln, and remained entire till 1789. Pownalborough being the shire-town, a court-house was there erected, and such of the county offices as required a location in the shire-town were established

therein. Our sketches do not extend to any members of the bar residing in the counties of York or Cumberland, nor to those residing in the counties formed since 1789, with the exception of the county of Kennebec. We leave the trust of taking care of the reputation and memory of the deceased members of the bar, of those counties, to their surviving brethren there residing.

The legal profession, taken as a whole, is neither a small nor an unimportant portion of the community, either in this or in the other States of our Union. From this portion are selected the greater part of our statesmen and diplomatists, and nearly all our judges. And from the bench and the bar, as remarked by a distinguished political philosopher, M. Tocqueville, "the hopes and expectations of the stability of the government must be principally founded."

As before observed, our knowledge of the earlier members of the bar was wholly derived from tradition, and the facts relating to them are necessarily few and scanty. As to those who lived at a later period, having the advantage of a personal acquaintance, our notices are more full, and our impressions more distinct. We have only to add that if anything can be found in the following sketches that shall rescue from oblivion any facts of interest, or which shall serve as an incentive to a laudable pursuit of an honorable profession, we shall not think our time wholly wasted in drawing them.

HON. WILLIAM CUSHING.

ONE of the earliest members of the bar, in the county of Lincoln, was the late Judge William Cushing. He appears, by the catalogue of Harvard College, to have graduated in 1751. It is supposed that he settled in Pownalborough

soon after 1760, the year of the incorporation of the county. It appears that he held the office of the first Register of Deeds and Judge of Probate, those offices not being then incompatible. As early as 1772, he was, under the provincial government, appointed a Judge of the Superior Court for the State of Massachusetts; in 1776, he was appointed to the same office under the appointing power of the State; and in 1777, he was, by the same authority, appointed to the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, for the whole State, including the province of Maine. He resigned this office in 1789, when he was, by President Washington, appointed an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. This office he held till his decease, in 1810. Whilst residing in Pownalborough, he continued in the practice of his profession till his appointment of Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of the State. We have no distinct tradition of his standing at the bar while in practice. From the desolate condition of this part of the country at that early period, it is not to be presumed that there could have been any great call or occasion for the employment of men of the legal profession of high standing, aside from the offices which they held. During the period of his sojourn at Pownalborough, Judge Cushing erected a large dwelling-house on the east bank of the Kennebec, opposite the head of Swan Island, which was intended for an elegant mansion, but was never completed. He returned to Scituate, in Massachusetts, from whence he originated, after his appointment as Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court. It might be inquired how it should have happened, that a man of the ability, education, family, and position of Mr. Cushing should have sought a residence in the then inhospitable regions of the Kennebec. This question may be satisfactorily answered, by adverting to the small opportunity and slender prospects of advancement

and promotion afforded at that time in Massachusetts proper. That State was then very unlike what it became afterwards, even in 1789, the year of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. But in the year 1760, Massachusetts was but a small province, — small in territory and sparsely settled. It had been divided into counties; but the offices in those counties were all filled, and the revenues derived from them of very inconsiderable value. The forming of the great county of Lincoln, in 1760, would render necessary its organization, and appointment of all its officers. Its territory was vast, though its inhabitants were few. No similar opportunity or chance was likely to occur in the old part of the State.

No revolution, no declaration of independence could be foreseen, or was then even thought of. His brother Charles Cushing was appointed sheriff of this extended county, which office he held till long after the commencement of the Revolutionary War, and until his midnight capture by the noted John Jones. The character of Judge Cushing was distinguished by traits of great excellence. His long judicial career as Judge and Chief Justice of Massachusetts, — his selection by Washington, among his first appointments of Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1789, — the satisfactory manner in which he performed those highly important trusts, — furnish abundant evidence of his ability, as shown by oral tradition and by his reported opinions. Judge Cushing was of rather a tall, slender form. He had much dignity in presiding at the circuits, combined with great suavity of manner. No one could be less ostentatious, or more affable, at the circuits held by him, as we have understood from those who practiced in that court.¹

¹ We append to this interesting notice of Judge Cushing some additional facts. He was son of John Cushing, a Judge of the Superior Court of

ROLAND CUSHING, a younger brother of Judge William and Charles Cushing, graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1768. He came to the Kennebec soon after, and read law with his brother William. He is said to have possessed rare native talents. He was for a time at Pittston, now Gardiner, and subsequently removed to Waldo-boro', where was a settlement principally composed of German emigrants. They were generally poor and uneducated, not familiar with the English language, and had little occasion for, and could give little encouragement to, any one of the legal profession. Destitute of all social intercourse with cultivated minds, and deprived of all sympathy from congenial spirits, he felt the solitude of his situation. His health soon failed him, and his existence was closed at Waldo-boro' in 1788. He was, during his illness, surrounded by kind friends who had become known to him, and who duly respected his character and cherished his memory.¹

JAMES SULLIVAN.

NEXT to Judge Cushing in time and in subsequent notoriety and distinction, was the late Governor Sullivan, who commenced his professional career by opening an office at

Massachusetts from 1747 to 1771, and born in Scituate, March 1, 1732. He studied his profession with the celebrated Jeremiah Gridley in Boston, was preceptor of the Grammar School in Roxbury in 1752; was appointed Judge of Probate of Lincoln County in 1768. He married Hannah Phillips of Middletown, Conn., and died without issue, September 7, 1810.

His brother Charles was younger, born August 13, 1734, Harvard College, 1755. He married Eliza, daughter of Increase Sumner, in 1768, was sheriff of Lincoln County twenty years; afterwards, clerk of the courts in Boston. He died Nov. 7, 1810. W.

¹ Roland Cushing, brother of the above, was born Feb. 26, 1750. He was a practicing lawyer in Pownalborough in 1772. W.

Georgetown, on the east bank of Kennebec river at Parker's Island. We are not informed of the precise time when he commenced or when he left that region.¹

JOHN GARDINER.

AMONG the most distinguished members of the bar, residing in the county of Lincoln, was John Gardiner, who was

¹ Since Mr. Allen prepared his notice of Gov. Sullivan, a very full memoir of his life and times has been published by his grandson, Thomas C. Amory of Boston. We may therefore omit any further sketch of this eminent lawyer, statesman, and author, than a few leading facts of his life. He was born in Berwick, Maine, April 22, 1744, his father and mother being immigrants from Ireland. He studied law with his brother John, of Durham, afterwards a general in the Revolutionary War, and commenced practice at Georgetown in 1767; he remained there less than two years, when he married and moved to Biddeford. He became a member of the General Court in 1774, of the Provincial Congress in 1775, a commissary of the troops in Maine, 1775, Judge of the Superior Court in 1776, of the Admiralty Court 1779; having resigned the office of Judge of the Superior Court in 1782, he was appointed Attorney General of Massachusetts in 1790, agent of the United States to determine the true St. Croix river of the treaty of 1783, in 1796, and Governor of Massachusetts in 1807 and 1808, in which office he died Dec. 10, 1808.

He was an eloquent advocate, and amidst the cares and duties of an exacting profession, his pen was constantly employed in works of history, law, and politics. He published in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he was President, a "Topographical Description of Georgetown" and a "History of the Penobscot Indians." In 1795 appeared his valuable history of Maine; by which he rescued from oblivion many important facts. His history of land titles was one of the earliest treatises on law published in Massachusetts. On political subjects, he discussed in the newspapers, with earnestness and ability, all the exciting topics of that animated transition period of our history. No man's life in his day, was more full of labor, activity, and energy, than was that of the subject of this notice. His only daughter married Jonathan Amory of Boston; and of his sons, Richard, Harvard College, 1798, and George, Harvard College, 1801, only remain alive.

W.

born in Boston, about the year 1731; was educated in England; read law in the Inner Temple, under the tuition of Sir Charles Pratt, afterwards Lord Chancellor Camden. He was admitted to the bar of the court of King's Bench, and the other courts of Westminster Hall; and practiced for a time before Lord Mansfield. He rapidly rose to distinction. He was employed as one of the counsel in defense of the celebrated John Wilkes, when charged with writing a libelous article. The trial was before Lord Mansfield, and such was the ability shown by Mr. Gardiner, in the defense, as to win for him the strong approbation of Mr. Wilkes, and the presentation of a piece of plate with an appropriate inscription, which is now in the possession of one of his descendants. The zeal and freedom of his opinions, which gained him the applause of the friends of Wilkes, lost him the good will of Lord Mansfield, in whose court he found it unpleasant to practice. He therefore retired from the bar of that court, having previously married a Welsh lady of family, and his friends, aided by the influence of Lord Mansfield, obtained for him the appointment of Attorney General in the island of St. Kitts. He practiced there several years, and until the conclusion of the Revolutionary War. About the year 1784, he returned to Boston, and on his petition, he and his family were declared, by an act of the General Court, to be citizens of Massachusetts. After practicing there for some years, and being created a barrister, he removed with his family to Pownalborough, in 1786. He sometime after took possession of an estate bequeathed to his children by his father, the late Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, on which he erected a dwelling house. He occasionally appeared at the bar of the Supreme Judicial Court, in cases of importance, in which he was sure to attract attention. A case of unusual interest has been stated to us, in which he was employed, with Gen. Wm. Lithgow, Jun., as counsel

for the defendant, which was that of Perrin, a Frenchman, who was indicted on a charge of murder, committed upon his uncle, on the Penobscot river, at what is now Bangor. The motive assigned was to gain possession of money belonging to the uncle. The defense was managed with much ability by his counsel. The pulse of the State, and of the nation, at that time, beat high in favor of France and French subjects and citizens, wherever they might be found. The French consul, then resident in Boston, came down to attend the trial, and exerted all the influence he could command, in behalf of his fellow-countryman. The jury returned a verdict of acquittal, although there was strong circumstantial evidence of his guilt. The trial took place in the old court-house still standing on the bank of the river in Dresden. In 1789, Mr. Gardiner was elected by Pownalborough a representative to the General Court, and continued to be so till his decease.

In that body he was much distinguished. In consequence of his bringing forward a number of proposed changes in the law, he was called "the Law Reformer." One was a bill for the abolition of special pleading, which was, by his opponents, considered of dangerous tendency then, but has since been adopted by this and by almost every State in the Union, with popular approbation. In other attempts he was more successful. He aided in abolishing the law of primogeniture, by which the oldest son inherited a double share of the estate of the parent, reducing the children to an equality in that respect. He also supported an act empowering a tenant in tail to dock the entailment, by a conveyance by deed, without going through the formal and clumsy process of a common recovery. He was a strenuous advocate for the repeal of the law prohibiting the establishment of a theater, or theatrical representations, in which he was more successful. His speech on this subject is still

extant, in which much learning is displayed. It is fraught with citations from the Greek and Roman writers, upon the drama, showing much elaborate and critical examination of that subject. He was a decided Whig in politics, and a Unitarian in religion. He is supposed to have contributed essentially, whilst residing in Boston, to an alteration of the liturgy of King's Chapel, by abolishing the Trinitarian feature, by which the society became Unitarian. Mr. Gardiner is represented to us as possessed of uncommon native endowments, of much and various reading, and of a most retentive memory. His style of speaking was copious and flowing. In his addresses to the jury he was somewhat discursive and declamatory; his voice was melodious, and his enunciation fine. He was a man of much boldness and freedom, in the expression of his opinions, which were fearlessly given. It was a saying of his, that he "desired to thank God that he had none of that sneaking virtue, called prudence." His personal appearance was good, as would be supposed by a portrait of him, painted by Copley, now in possession of one of his descendants. In his manners he was courteous and affable. His colloquial powers, from his intercourse with the most cultivated society in England and in this country, were highly interesting, and much enjoyed by his friends and acquaintance.

Late in the autumn of the year 1793, Mr. Gardiner embarked on board of a heavily laden coaster, in the Kennebec, bound to Boston to attend the General Court; but he was destined never to reach there. The vessel was overtaken by a violent storm, and he and all on board perished. His death and the manner of it produced a deep sensation in the community, and especially among his friends and acquaintance. It is not a little remarkable that a man of the varied powers, antecedents, and characteristics of Mr. Gardiner, should have sought for and found amid the wilds of

the Kennebec, as it then was, a solitary asylum for a permanent residence.

WILLIAM LITHGOW, JUN.

THE subject of this notice was a son of Col. William Lithgow, who lived at Georgetown. He served as an officer in the army which captured Burgoyne, and had been wounded in one of the battles previous. He passed through the scenes of the Revolution with much honor. He read law with Mr. Sullivan, was admitted to the bar and commenced practice on the Kennebec, having his office and residence at what is now Augusta, on the east side of the river, in the old Fort, which is now standing. He is represented as a lawyer of much ability. He soon rose to an extensive practice. He was an able and interesting advocate. His personal appearance was good, and in his influence with juries he was unrivaled. During his short and brilliant career at the bar, he was chosen Major General of the militia for the whole extended county of Lincoln.

In the midst of his successful career, and apparently in the prime and vigor of life, he was smitten down by a paralytic stroke, which ever after disabled him from appearing in court. He retired to his father's house in Georgetown, where he lingered till his decease, Feb. 16, 1796, aged forty-six.

HON. SILAS LEE.

MR. LEE commenced his legal practice at Wiscasset, about the year 1790, that place being one of the shire towns for the county of Lincoln. He read law with Judge George Thatcher, of Biddeford, whose niece he married. He was a

man of great industry, of popular manners, and very successful in practice. He succeeded to the office of Judge of Probate on the decease, or resignation of the late Judge Bowman. In 1801, he was appointed District Attorney for the Maine District, by Mr. Jefferson, which office he held till his decease, in the year 1814. He was also, at one time, elected a representative to Congress, and retained that place till he was appointed District Attorney. He was, also, during that period, appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and successor to Judge Rice, which office he held for a short time. The success of Mr. Lee at the bar was not owing to his power as an orator. Few men were more deficient in all the essential elements which constitute good speaking. Without imagination, or power of illustration, without any pretension to elegance of diction, he only labored to make himself understood, and it seemed no small effort to accomplish that. A perpetual stammering and hesitation were the general characteristics of his addresses to the jury. He possessed, however, other qualities, which served to supply any deficiency in elocution. He was courteous and bland in his manners; polite and gentlemanly in his address, and most familiar and easy of access. He was remarkable for his hospitality, and especially desirous of entertaining men of cultivated minds, wherever found, at his residence. He had a passion for building houses, which he indulged beyond his wants, or his means — which ever kept him embarrassed in his finances, and notwithstanding the perquisites of all his offices, rendered his estate at the time of his death deeply insolvent. No one could discern more readily the sources of political power, nor the avenues which led to them. He was ambitious, but his success or advancement was always accomplished by fair and honorable means, which were generally aided by a favorable concurrence of circumstances.

HITHERTO we have referred to lawyers whom we knew only from tradition, excepting the last; they having passed off the stage prior to our recollection.

In 1799, the county of Kennebec was incorporated, being wholly taken from the county of Lincoln, and with it, took a large portion of the bar.

A material change in the habits and customs of the bar gradually took place in the early part of the present century. The terms of the court were then very short, rarely continuing more than a week. The bar were collected from remote distances, and the gathering was eminently a social one. They were not overtaxed by their labors in court. The evenings were spent in a very free, colloquial intercourse, somewhat convivial, not unfrequently aided by cards, wine, and more potent stimulants. The trials of actions were few, not often more than three or four at a term, and those conducted by two or three of the leaders of the bar. Books were rarely used, or cited, in court—indeed, there were at that time few American law books to cite; the system of reporting the decisions of our own courts had but just commenced, and but a very small portion of the English reports were applicable to the cases then tried. Blackstone's Commentaries, and a few elementary works, constituted the greater part of the law library of the most successful of the lawyers, furnishing the outlines of the practice, and the principles of the common law.

BENJAMIN HASEY.

AMONG the members of the bar, then in practice, who long survived, was the late Benjamin Hasey, who settled and lived in Topsham. He was a graduate of Harvard College, of the class of 1790, and read law with Judge Thatcher, of Biddeford. He was well versed in the prin-

ciples of the common law. His reading was extensive, both legal and miscellaneous. His memory was tenacious, his habits studious. Always being a bachelor, he had little to withdraw his attention from his favorite pursuits. In his person, though very small in stature, he was of the most perfect formation, and always most neatly attired. He was retiring in his habits, and somewhat reserved in his manners, though social in private intercourse. He had much good sense, a strict adherent of the old federal party, from whose leading opinions, so long as the party had a distinctive existence, he never wavered, and he had little charity for those who did. He was not much employed as an advocate. He generally argued, not over one case in a year, and that was done very well. His addresses to the jury were brief, free from all repetition, or any copious illustration. He left the world in the same apparent quietude in which he had lived, leaving a name much honored, and a character highly respected. Though revolving within a limited circle, he was, within that, much esteemed for his kindness and benevolence. He died March 24, 1851, at the advanced age of over eighty years.

HON. JEREMIAH BAILEY

COMMENCED practice at Wiscasset about the same time with Mr. Hasey. He was a graduate of Brown University, 1794. He read law three years with Judge Lee. He was most remarkable for his affability and social qualities. He was appointed Judge of Probate, on the decease of Judge Lee, and held that office till he was elected a member of Congress in 1834, in which he served two sessions. He again returned to the practice of law, and so continued to employ himself till he was appointed Collector of the Customs, at Wiscasset, by Gen. Taylor, which office he held until near his

decease. He was much distinguished for his hospitality, and beloved for his kindness, by all his numerous friends where he lived. His judgment was generally sound, and his benevolence unquestioned. He lived till about eighty years of age, in the same place where he commenced his professional life, leaving an unsullied reputation, and marked for the utmost purity in the discharge of the duties of all the various offices which he was called on to fill.¹

HON. JOSIAH STEBBINS

WAS a graduate of Yale College, 1791, and emigrated to this State about the year 1800, and settled in Alna, then New Milford. He had the reputation of being a good scholar, and was familiar with the principles of common law. His personal appearance was awkward and ungainly. His sympathies were much in unison with the laboring classes, and manifested itself in his repeated attempts to add to and improve the Betterment Laws, for which there was an obvious necessity, and which tended greatly to the benefit of the settlers and was ultimately so to the proprietors. He was, for the time, much employed by the settlers, when prosecuted by the proprietors, and was ever faithful to their interests. He did not excel as an advocate, in his addresses to the jury. He lacked method, and the power of condensing and of concentration of his thoughts; hence his arguments were desultory, involved in parentheses, and leaving no distinct impression of the propositions sought to be established. He was distinguished for his affability, and

¹ Judge Bailey was born at Little Compton, R. I., May 1, 1773. He was an Elector of President in 1810, and the same year a Representative to the General Court, and re-elected four years. He died in July, 1853, aged eighty.

for his inflexible integrity and the purity of his moral character. His want of system was manifested in keeping no accounts with his clients, and his never settling an account. Although extremely economical in all his expenditures, he suffered his claims to remain till they were barred by the statute of limitations. There was an inconsistency in his habits, in this respect, which were otherwise marked by uprightness and good sense. He was at one time a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and sustained himself very well in that character. He died, where he lived, in Alna, March 1st, 1829, aged sixty-three.¹

HON. BENJAMIN ORR

WAS for many years a distinguished member of the bar, in the county of Lincoln. He was, in many respects, a very remarkable man. He came rather late into the profession. He was a native of New Hampshire. His early life was devoted to some mechanical employment; weary of that, he turned his attention to study, was qualified, entered college, graduated at Dartmouth in 1798, and made up for his early deficiency by resolute and persevering industry. He read law and opened an office at Topsham; soon became distinguished as a counsellor, and more especially as an advocate. For many years, he was the acknowledged leader of the bar of the county of Lincoln, and unsurpassed by any of those in the counties adjacent. His personal appearance was very good; he was a neatly formed man. In his addresses to the jury he was very successful; his manner was earnest; he had rather an ardent temperament, but was al-

¹ He was born at Brimfield, Mass., Nov. 19, 1766. He was tutor at Yale College until 1796, studying his profession at the same time, with Hon. Elizur Goodrich, of New Haven.

ways interesting, and distinguished for his good taste. He was possessed of much magnanimity, much generosity of feeling; capable of exhibiting every species of fraud or meanness in its most odious colors, and of making apparent that which was just. His addresses to the jury were generally brief, and never tedious. His language was good, as was his method. He had the power of so combining and concentrating his thoughts that nothing was lost by his conciseness. He displayed much power and acuteness in the examination of witnesses; his questions were searching, and could hardly fail to elicit the truth. In cases of attempted prevarication by a witness his power was signally manifested; and woe be to the witness who should attempt to palm off upon him a falsehood for truth, or to disguise the real nature of the transaction. His power of invective was unrivaled; but never employed unless he believed it was required by the occasion.

He was at one time a Member of Congress, in which he served two sessions, with credit to himself, but not with that distinction which he acquired and sustained at the bar. He removed to Brunswick in the latter part of his life, where he continued to live the remainder of his days. He died at an early age, in the zenith of his fame and reputation, after a short period of illness. For several years prior to his decease, the writer of this note saw much of him, and ever found his professional course marked with much ability, kindness, and magnanimity.¹

¹ Mr. Orr was the son of Hon. John Orr, and grandson of Daniel Orr, who came from the north of Ireland, one of the Scotch-Irish immigrants, in 1726. He was born in Bedford, N. H., Dec. 1st, 1772; commenced the study of law with Gov. Samuel Dinsmore, of New Hampshire, and finished with Judge Wilde, in Hallowell, and was admitted to the bar in 1801. He was elected to Congress in 1816, and served one term. He died in 1828, leaving a large family, by his wife, Elizabeth Toppan, of the Newbury family of that name.

HON. JUDGE JAMES BRIDGE.

IN the year 1799, the county of Kennebec having been taken from the county of Lincoln, the bar was nearly equally divided, and the greater portion of the members confined themselves to their respective counties.

Among the leaders of the bar, in the upper Kennebec, in the early part of the present century, was the late Judge James Bridge, who was appointed Judge of Probate at the organization of the county, and hence derived that title. He was a graduate of Harvard College, of the class of 1787, read law in the office of Theophilus Parsons, and commenced practice at Augusta, succeeding to Gen. Wm. Lithgow. He had the reputation of being a good scholar, and was a sound lawyer. His commencement was auspicious. Able lawyers were then few, and he very soon acquired an extensive practice. He with his junior partner, Reuel Williams, were appointed agents and attorneys to the proprietors of the Kennebec purchase, which, of itself, necessarily furnished a large amount of business, within and without his office, and in and out of court. The collecting business, which centered in the office of Bridge & Williams, was greater than that which pertained to any other office. Such was the influx of business, that it obviated the necessity of relying upon casual clients, whose cases might require close examination, and much preliminary investigation, and previous preparation. Hence it was, that although possessed of more than ordinary ability, of a logical and discriminating mind, and exercising great industry, he never sought distinction as an advocate, and was rarely called in to the aid of other counsel. Indeed, his own business, and that which was thrown upon him, was sufficient to absorb all his best efforts and precluded the wish for any such applications, and he early withdrew from the bar, leaving the business in

court to his junior partner. Having accumulated a large property, which required his care, and being president of a bank in Augusta, he was in no want of employment during the remainder of his life, till his decease, which took place in 1834. Cotemporary with Mr. Bridge was Mr. Wilde.

HON. SAMUEL S. WILDE

WAS a native of Taunton, Massachusetts, and was born Feb. 5, 1771. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College, of the class of 1789. He read law under the tuition of Judge Paddleford, was duly admitted, and began his professional practice at Waldoboro', about the year 1793. He remained there two or three years, when he removed to Warren, where he continued about the same length of time. The business in either of those places was limited, and wholly inadequate to the rising reputation of Mr. Wilde, who had given indications of a superior intellect. In the year 1799, he removed to Hallowell, then one of the most important towns on the Kennebec. Having no superior at the bar, and, indeed, no equal, he immediately entered upon a successful course of practice, which continued to expand from year to year, as long as he resided there. The great success of Mr. Wilde consisted in his power as an advocate, which was unrivaled by any cotemporary. His clear and ready perception of all the intricate points of a cause, was remarkable. No one could more easily observe the strong points of his own cause, or more readily detect the weak ones of his adversary. He rarely failed to make himself so far master of his case, as to impart his convictions to the jury. His addresses to the jury were generally brief, energetic and rapid. His enunciation was clear and distinct. His arrangement of facts was not distin-

guished for method, and he never aspired to any great degree of eloquence. He spoke for the *cause*, not for any general effect. The main qualities of his forensic addresses, were force, energy, and ingenuity. He was careless of his diction, but never failed to make himself clearly understood. We believe he was the most popular advocate, who has ever grown up in this State. His practice was not confined to the county of Kennebec, but extended to all the counties east of Cumberland. He was a man of much magnanimity and kindness of disposition. He was fond of social and convivial enjoyments, in which he occasionally indulged, within proper limits. He pursued his successful course of practice till 1815, when he was appointed to the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court. He continued to reside in Hallowell till the year of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, when he removed to the latter State, and continued to hold the office of Judge, and to perform its duties with much ability and honor to himself, and much satisfaction to the public, till he arrived to the advanced age of over eighty years, when in 1851 he gave in his resignation. On that occasion, as at his death, which occurred in 1855, the bench and bar of that State manifested, by appropriate resolutions, their high sense of his ability and uprightness, through the whole course of his judicial life. The degree of L. L. D. was conferred upon him by the several colleges of Bowdoin, Dartmouth, and Harvard, in different years.¹

¹ Judge Wilde married Eunice, a daughter of the Hon David Cobb, of Taunton, afterward of Maine, who died in 1826. He was twice chosen an Elector of President; in 1814, a member of the Executive Council, and was the last surviving member of the Hartford Convention. He was allied by marriage with the Gov. Sumner family, of Massachusetts, from which he derived his name, Samuel Sumner.

HON. THOMAS RICE,

A SON of Judge Rice, of Wiscasset, opened an office in Winslow, about the year 1794. He had a long and successful practice. His abilities and legal knowledge were highly creditable. His practice was generally confined to the county in which he lived; and although never occupying a very high stand, he was much respected for his integrity, his urbanity, and his industry. He was deservedly popular, and was at one time elected to Congress, where he served two sessions, always sustaining a fair reputation with his clients, and with all his friends and acquaintance. He cultivated a small farm, on which he lived, and died at the advanced age of about eighty-four years.¹ Cotemporary with Mr. Rice was —

NATHANIEL PERLEY,

Who commenced practice in Hallowell, about the year 1794, where he ever after continued to reside. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College, 1791, and for many years had an extensive practice at the bar. He was distinguished for his wit and broad humor — for his jokes and cutting repartees at the bar, which he not unfrequently indulged. Constantly armed as he was, with this panoply, it was unsafe for an ordinary person to attack him. Nor did he always wait for provocation. As a sample, an instance is recollected: When one of the four judges of the Court of Common Pleas, not remarkable for his profundity, coming late into

¹ Mr. Rice was born in Wiscasset, March 30th, 1768; graduated at Harvard College, 1791. He studied law with Timothy Bigelow in Groton, and commenced practice in Winslow in 1795. He was elected to Congress in 1817, and again in 1819. He died in Winslow, August 24th, 1854, aged eighty-six.

court, on taking his seat on the bench, observing as an apology, that he "believed that there was no member of the court less absent than himself," — "True," replied Perley, "and no one less present." In the latter part of his professional career, his practice declined. With many amiable and amusing qualities, he was popular with a class of clients, but those not of the first order. His good sayings and *bon mots* were innumerable, and were often cited. And it may be said of him, as was said of Falstaff, that he was not only witty in himself, but the cause of wit in others; although it was his own which was ever most prominent.

SOLOMON VOSE

WAS from Massachusetts, county of Worcester. He settled early in the present century at Augusta, and remained there during his life. He was a man of commanding figure, and good personal appearance. He was well versed in the principles and rules of practice of his profession. He combined the duties of an attorney and advocate in an equal degree. His arguments to the jury were plain, perspicuous, brief, and direct. His deep and heavy voice never failed to be heard or listened to with attention. His practice was lucrative, but his course was brief; his decease was sudden, prior to 1820.

THOMAS BOND.

AMONG the distinguished members of the bar in the county of Kennebec was Thomas Bond, who commenced practice in Hallowell early in the present century as a copartner of the late Judge Wilde, and so continued while the latter remained at the bar, and subsequently on his own account.

Mr. Bond was remarkable for his integrity, for the urbanity of his manners and deportment. He was familiar with the principles of the common law, and with the rules of practice. He was a very safe counselor and adviser, and was a highly reputable advocate. His natural endowments were above mediocrity. His practice was extensive, and no one was more beloved and esteemed by his fellow citizens. His habits and mode of living were unexceptionable. He died of an acute disease, at an early age, in 1827, and his character is held in respectful remembrance by his numerous friends and acquaintance.¹

EBENEZER T. WARREN

WAS a contemporary with Mr. Bond, having opened an office in Hallowell. He was a graduate of Harvard College, of the class of 1800. He was for several years president of a bank, and had a very extensive practice; no small part of which proceeded from the bank, at a time when loans were extensive, and punctuality of payment not strictly observed. He was somewhat given to speculation, in which he was not always successful. Among other enterprises, was that of extensive purchases of soldiers' patents, located in the State of Illinois, in the early settlement of

¹ Mr. Bond was born in Groton, Mass., in 1779, but moved at an early age, with his father, to Hallowell. He graduated at Harvard College, 1801, and soon after entered the office of Judge Wilde as a law student. He held a high rank in his class at college. After the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, he was twice elected a Senator to the Legislature, and the year before his death, which took place March 28, 1827, he was selected by the Senate to revise the penal code. In 1805, he married Lucretia, daughter of Dr. Benjamin Page of Hallowell, by whom he had three children, a son, Francis Eugene, Bowdoin College, 1828, and two daughters, all of whom are dead. His widow survives.

that State, which involved him in much embarrassment; and what was still more unfortunate, was the necessity imposed upon him of proceeding thither to superintend them, at a time when that State was wild and uncultivated; and where, far removed from the comforts of civilized life, he was taken sick and died, in Quincy, Ill., August, 1829. He was a man of an amiable disposition, and popular in his manners. He did not greatly excel as an advocate, nor did his taste or talents lie in that direction. While in Hallowell, he contributed much to the improvement of the village by the erection, with others, of a fine block of brick buildings, denominated "the Kennebec Row."

ELEAZER W. RIPLEY,

KNOWN to the country as Gen. Ripley. Cotemporary with Mr. Warren, and for a time copartner with him, was Eleazer W. Ripley, who began to practice in Winslow or Waterville, and removed to Hallowell, where he remained till he was appointed and commissioned a Colonel in the army of the United States, in the war of 1812. He had much versatility of talent: he was quite an able advocate at the bar, and interesting in his addresses to the jury; was a very active partisan politician; was Speaker of the House of Representatives, in Massachusetts, in 1811, succeeding to the late Judge Story, on his resignation. He entered the army, in 1812, with much zeal, and displayed no small military skill in several battles on our northern frontier, in several of which he was wounded, and acquired a high reputation for bravery. During one of those engagements, he was wounded by a bullet passing through his neck, which ever after affected his general appearance, though not so as to disfigure him. At the conclusion of the war, he recommenced

the practice of law, in Louisiana; having received an appointment and been commissioned a Brigadier General before he left the service, was retained when the army was reduced, and retired with the title of Major General. His high military reputation, added to his acknowledged ability as a lawyer and advocate, at once introduced him to an extensive practice in the courts of that State. He was also elected a Member of Congress, and held a seat for two sessions. His health, however, failed him, and in 1834 he fell a victim to a fever incident to that climate. While General Ripley was on the northern frontier, he was employed under Major General Brown, and distinguished himself in several of the severest battles, by his skill and bravery, in that region; and his name and reputation, as a soldier, are justly commended in the history of the war on that frontier; and his services are ever referred to with high encomium and respect. We would add that Congress tendered him a vote of thanks for his military services, and a gold medal was ordered to him, commemorative of the battles he had fought and the services he had rendered.¹

BENJAMIN WHITWELL

WAS from Boston, a native of that city, and came to Augusta about the year 1800. He was a graduate of Harvard College, of the year 1790. He continued to practice in Augusta till shortly before the separation of Maine from Massachusetts. He then went to Boston, and remained there till his decease, in 1825. Mr. Whitwell had a fine imagination, was of a poetical temperament, more devoted to literature than law, and as would be expected,

¹Gen. Ripley graduated in Dartmouth College, in 1800. Mr. Allen, whose sister he married, in his Biographical Dictionary, says he died in March, 1840.

more excelling in it. He delivered a poem before the P. B. K., at Cambridge, entitled "Folly as it flies." He generally had a copartner, to divide with him the labors of the office,— at one time it was Mr. Emmons, late of Hallowell, and at another, H. W. Fuller, and then Mr. John Potter, of Augusta. His practice was principally confined to the county of Kennebec, having the charge of some large tracts of land belonging to absent proprietors.

NATHAN BRIDGE

WAS a native of Pownalborough, now Dresden. He was admitted after reading law in the office of the late Judge Bridge, his brother, about the year 1800, and opened an office in Gardiner. He was extensively employed as an agent for absent proprietors. There were at that time, and for many years following, conflicting claims between the proprietors and settlers, where much negotiation and local knowledge was requisite. Mr. Bridge was highly instrumental in bringing to a successful conclusion many contests and controversies, in which the benefit of his personal and local knowledge was very apparent, and was conspicuously displayed. He continued in practice till the year 1810. Shortly after, he engaged in the business of buying and selling lands and timber, and subsequently transferred himself to Wilmington, North Carolina, where he had a brother engaged in mercantile business.

Mr. N. Bridge returned to Gardiner or Dresden, residing alternately at either place, till his decease, about the year 1825. He was a man of much kindness and active benevolence, which were frequently displayed. He was strictly honest in all his transactions, and was emphatically the poor man's friend. His conduct and deportment were ever

marked with a high sense of honor, in all his business, as well as in his social relations.

JUDGE SANFORD KINGSBURY.

COTEMPORARY with Mr. Bridge, and a little later in his profession, was the late Judge Sanford Kingsbury. He was a native of New Hampshire, (Claremont) and a graduate of Dartmouth College, in 1801. He opened an office in Gardiner, about the year 1805, and had quite an extensive course of practice for several years. The business of making suits for the collection of debts, was at that time the principal, and the most important, and the most lucrative employment of an attorney. It required no great skill, or familiarity with legal principles, or other knowledge, than that which was merely clerical. A lawyer at that period would earn more in one year, without any other labor than such as a clerk could bestow, than the average since earned in a period of ten years — but that state of things did not last long. The embargo and non-intercourse laws crippled commerce, and annihilated the credit system, except in those cases where suits would not be necessary, and a fortune was no longer to be made by defending actions in court, for the non-payment of debts. After the separation of Maine, Mr. Kingsbury was appointed by Gov. King, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, an office which he continued to hold with ability until the court was abolished. Prior to his appointment as Judge, he had been for several years cashier of the Gardiner Bank, and subsequently for several years, he was a member of the Legislature of Maine, and in one or more years, was a member of the Senate. He also held the office of State Treasurer for one or more years. In all the offices which he sustained, he ever ful-

filled his duty with strict fidelity, and ample ability. He died suddenly at Gardiner, from a supposed *angina pectoris*, at not a very advanced age.

HON. TIMOTHY BOUTELLE.

AMONG the early distinguished members of the bar in Kennebec, was the late Timothy Boutelle. He was a native of Massachusetts, a graduate of high reputation at Harvard College, in the year 1800. He commenced practice in Waterville about the year 1804, where for many years he had a very successful practice. His knowledge in his profession was extensive and accurate; his judgment was sound; and he soon acquired a high reputation at the bar. As an advocate, he was highly respected; he was much employed in his own county and in Somerset. He took an active interest in all the political questions of the day, and was fond of discussing them. He was for several years elected a member of the House of Representatives, and subsequently a member of the Senate of Maine, in all of which he ever discharged his duties with faithfulness and ability. He was once chosen an Elector of President. In the year 1839, he received the degree of LL. D. from Waterville College. He was a Trustee and Treasurer of the college for many years. He was also, for a long time, president of a bank established in Waterville, and the first president of the Androscoggin & Kennebec Railroad Company. He was ever faithfully devoted to the interests of his own town, and to those subjects which were connected with it; and his memory is held in respectful remembrance by his numerous friends and acquaintance.¹

¹ Mr. Boutelle died Nov. 12, 1855, aged seventy-seven. He was the son of Col. Timothy, and Rachel (Lincoln) Boutelle, and was born in Leomin-

LEMUEL PAINE

WAS cotemporary with Mr. Boutelle, but beginning later. He was a graduate of Brown University, of the class of 1803. He was a native of Massachusetts, read law at Waterville, with Mr. (subsequently General) Ripley, and opened an office in Winslow. For several years he had a successful, although, from his location, not a very extensive practice. Mr. Paine was possessed of a good intellect, and great purity of moral character. He had a taste for agriculture: he became the owner of a farm, which he employed himself in cultivating. Finding this occupation more agreeable and congenial to his tastes and disposition than his legal avocations, he gradually retired from the bar, and devoted himself almost wholly to his farm, which he never abandoned. He lived to an advanced age in the town of his adoption, surrounded and respected by a numerous circle of friends, whose good will and affection he ever enjoyed. He was chosen an Elector of President 1813.

We would add that Mr. Paine was distinguished as a classical scholar. After his retirement from the bar, he indulged his taste and employed much of his leisure in reperusing the Greek and Latin authors, which had been his early, and formed his late companions. He continued to cherish his love for the Greek language, which he read with ease, and which was to him a great source of enjoyment, as long as his health and life continued.

ster, in Massachusetts, Nov. 10, 1778. After leaving college, he became, for a year, an assistant teacher at Leicester Academy, then commenced the study of law with Abijah Bigelow, in Leominster, and finished with Edward Gray of Boston. He was chosen an Elector of President in 1816, and served with ability and fidelity at least a dozen years in the Legislature of Maine, as a Senator or Representative.

W.

HENRY W. FULLER

WAS a graduate of Dartmouth College, of the class of Daniel Webster and Judge Kingsbury, 1801. He early commenced practice in Augusta, and was for a time in copartnership with B. Whitwell, Esq. He possessed good talents, was very active in professional business, was familiar with the principles and practice of law. He was very kind and amiable in his disposition, bland and courteous in his manner, and was much respected and esteemed by his fellow citizens. He was for several years a member of the Legislature. He was appointed to the office of County Attorney, we believe by Gov. Lincoln, and was afterwards appointed to the office of Judge of Probate, which he continued to hold till his decease. He died very suddenly in Boston, by a paralytic stroke, when walking in the street, in the year 1841. He was much employed in the latter years of his life as attorney and agent for distant proprietors of the Kennebec purchase, and in this capacity, as well as in every office which he held, he was always distinguished for the faithful discharge of the duties incident to the station. And although cut down in the prime and vigor of his life, he had, by his practice, and by some successful purchases of lands, created quite a handsome fortune for his posterity.

HON. ERASTUS FOOTE.

MR. FOOTE migrated to this State early in the present century, coming, as we are informed, from the western part of Massachusetts. He opened an office at Camden, then a thrifty village, and commenced a successful course of practice, which he pursued with energy and strict attention, during his residence in that place, which terminated several years prior to the separation of Maine, at which time he

removed to Wiscasset, which had been a place of much importance and commercial activity. But its prosperity had been blighted by the embargo and non-intercourse laws, and by the war of 1812, with England, from which depression it has never recovered. Mr. Foote continued to practice in that place, although the general business of the town was much affected by the failure of its principal merchants. Shortly after the separation of Maine, he received the appointment of Attorney General, from Gov. King, an office which he continued to hold, and the duties of which he continued to discharge with strict attention and ample ability. The duties of that responsible office were far more onerous then, than they have been since, it being then considered the duty of the Attorney General, to accompany the court through all the counties, in which sessions were held once, and generally twice a year. The duties of the office, except in capital trials, have latterly been assigned to the respective county attorneys. Mr. Foote held the office about twelve years, when he returned to the ordinary routine of the bar. He was a man of good common sense, courteous and kind in his manners and disposition. He survived till he was advanced in years, somewhat beyond the common age of man, surrounded, and his death regretted, by his numerous friends and relatives.¹

¹ Mr. Foote was born in Waterbury, Conn., in October, 1777; at the age of nineteen he commenced the study of law with Judge Hinkley, at North Hampton, and commenced practice at that place. He moved to Camden in 1803. He represented Lincoln County in the senate of Massachusetts, was appointed attorney of the county, and was colonel in the militia in the war of 1812. He married two daughters of the venerable Moses Carlton, of Wiscasset, by the second of whom he had one son, Erastus, and several daughters. He died July 14, 1856, in his seventy-ninth year. W.

JOHN OTIS

WAS the son of Oliver Otis, Esq., of this State, a wealthy citizen, we believe, of the town of Leeds. The subject of this notice was a graduate of Bowdoin College, of the class of 1823. He read law in Hallowell, in the office of P. Sprague, Esq., and was admitted to the bar, after the usual period of study. His practice was lucrative and extensive, and remained so until he engaged in other pursuits, and retired from the bar. His talents were respectable, and he possessed great mental activity and versatility. He was for a time, editor of a paper published at Hallowell, and exerted no small influence over the party politics of the day. He represented, for one or more years, the town of Hallowell in the State Legislature, and subsequently was elected a Representative to Congress, where he served, with ability and distinction, several sessions. We believe that he contributed, in no small degree, to the passage of the act reducing the high rate of postage to its present moderate extent. He was, also, one of the commissioners appointed by the Legislature of Maine, with Messrs. Preble, Kent, and Kavanagh, for ceding to the United States a portion of the territory claimed by this State, for the purpose of enabling the former to conclude the treaty with England, involving our northeastern boundary, commonly called "the Webster and Ashburton treaty." Mr. Otis was largely engaged in his private speculations, in this county and in the county of Penobscot, some of which proved fortunate, others not so. He made an unlucky investment in a bank in Gardiner, of which he was at one time president. He was twice married: the first time to a daughter of the late Wm. O. Vaughan, Esq., and the second time to the daughter of the late Samuel Grant, Esq. His death was sudden, at his residence in Hallowell, in 1856. Mr. Otis was bland and

courteous in his manners and address, and distinguished for his kindness of heart and disposition. He did not often advocate causes to the jury, his mind was not formed, nor his attention so much given to any forensic displays as to those required in a deliberative or legislative assembly, of which he was known to be an efficient member.

HIRAM BELCHER,

AFTER reading law with Wilde & Bond, in Hallowell, opened an office in Farmington, where he ever continued to reside. He possessed talents far above mediocrity. He was frequently employed as an advocate, and was not an unsuccessful one. He was a man of large stature, in height over six feet, rather thin and spare of flesh, and not very compactly formed. But he had an excellent and well cultivated mind, and much benevolence of disposition. He was remarkable for his amusing and quiet sallies of wit and dry humor, occasionally interspersed in his forensic discussions, as well as in his private intercourse. He was much beloved and respected in the congressional district of his residence, which he was chosen to represent, and where he served with unexceptional and well-merited reputation, from 1847 to 1849, and would probably have been continued if his health had permitted. He died at his own home, in the year 1855, leaving the reputation of a spotless purity of character.

HON. EDWARD KAVANAGH.

AMONG other members of the bar in Lincoln, was Edward Kavanagh, a son of James Kavanagh, of Newcastle. He was duly admitted to the bar of the Supreme Judicial Court, but never practiced. He received a part of his ed-

ucation at a Catholic College, or institution, in Montreal, and a part in a similar institution in Maryland. He was a man of fine personal appearance, distinguished for natural politeness of manners, founded on the great benevolence of his disposition, which was constantly manifested. He was much employed after his admission to the bar, in settling the complicated business of his late father, whose estate, at one time munificent, had in the latter years of his life become involved and dilapidated. The general excellence of his character, and the high estimation in which he was held, led to his election as a member of Congress, where he served from 1831 to 1835, to the entire satisfaction of his constituents. He was at another period, 1843, elected a member of the Senate of Maine, and was chosen president of that body. The office of Governor becoming vacant during the political year, the duties of Chief Magistrate devolved on him, which he executed in a faithful and able manner, until the termination of the year. He was then appointed by President Jackson as Chargé at Lisbon. He accepted this trust, and represented the nation at that court for several years; he being the highest diplomatic agent of the United States at that place, during his residence there. His general knowledge of public laws, his familiarity with the French language, eminently fitted him for the duties of that station, and not the less so for his uniform adherence to the faith of the Catholic Church, from which he never swerved. But it is the destiny of man, that all external blessings should be mingled with alloy. During his residence at Lisbon his health was undermined, and after his return was never restored. He visited the Sulphur Springs in Virginia, and other resorts for invalids. As he observed to the writer of this note, after his return, "he had been fishing for health, but could not catch it." He not long after died at his paternal mansion, surrounded by the tenderest of relatives and most affectionate of friends.

HON. EBENEZER CLAPP.

AMONG the early practitioners in Bath, was Ebenezer Clapp. He was from Massachusetts, and was a graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1799. He read law in the office of Kilborn Whitman, Esq., in Pembroke. After his admission he opened an office at Nantucket, and about the year 1804 commenced his residence at Bath, where he ever after remained. He was a man of great purity of character—had many warm friends, and was highly esteemed in the social circle in which he moved. He, at one period, held the office of Chief Justice of the Court of Sessions, for the county of Lincoln, the duties of which he faithfully discharged. He was also a Judge, for a short period, of the Police Court at Bath. He died at Bath, after a sudden and brief illness, about the year 1855, at an advanced age, with an unblemished reputation.¹

ISAAC G. REED

BEGAN to reside in Waldoborough in the year 1808. He was from Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard College, of the class of 1803, and read law in the office of Timothy Bigelow. He continued to reside in Waldoborough until his decease, which took place in 1847. He was possessed of highly respectable abilities, had an extensive practice from the town of Waldoborough and that vicinity. He was distinguished for courtesy of manners, and for kindness of disposition, and for the general benevolence of his char-

¹ Mr. Clapp was born in Mansfield, Mass., Jan. 21, 1779. Commenced the study of his profession with Judge Paddleford, of Taunton. In 1812 he married Sarah, a daughter of Dr. Isaac Winslow, of Marshfield, but had no children. He died Jan. 28, 1856.

acter. He had somewhat of a military propensity. He soon attained the rank of *Colonel*, by which he was ever after designated. He was supposed to be unusually well qualified for the discharge of all the duties incident to that station. It was his pride and his pleasure to appear at the head of his regiment, on days of public review, and it was there he appeared to signal advantage. For many years he held the office of Postmaster in Waldoborough, and was, for a period, Treasurer of the county, and we believe, was a member of the Court of Sessions. In 1835 he participated in the mania for speculation, which so generally pervaded the community, and which in the end swept the greater portion of his property; but still leaving him sufficient for his comfortable support, during the residue of his life, which was terminated with an unsullied reputation, in 1847. He was a member of the Board of Overseers of Bowdoin College, in the welfare of which he ever manifested a laudable interest.

JOSEPH SEWALL

WAS a native of Bath. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College, in the class of 1812. His father and grandfather, the late Gen. Sewall, of Bath, were among our most respected classes of citizens. The latter held many offices of trust, the duties of which he ever faithfully fulfilled. The subject of this memoir was educated for the bar, and opened an office in Bath and continued to practice there till his decease, which was in the year 1851, at the age of 56. He was an excellent business lawyer, of strict integrity, and possessed of a clear intellect, and a sound judgment, which insured him the confidence of his fellow citizens. He was for several years a member of the board of County Com-

missioners, and ever executed the trusts incident to that station with much ability and impartiality. On the suggestion of the writer of this note, he employed himself in writing a history of the town of Bath, a copy of which was deposited in the archives of the Maine Historical Society and published in the second volume of its collections. Although not very highly distinguished as an advocate, nor ever aspiring to be so, his many other valuable qualities insured him the regard and respect of an intelligent community, by which he was surrounded. He held at one time the office of Adjutant General. His health failed him at an early period, before he was overtaken by the imbecility and decrepitude of old age.

WILLIAM J. FARLEY

WAS a son of the late Joseph Farley of Waldoborough. He graduated at Bowdoin College in the class of 1820. He read law at Waldoborough, and was admitted to the bar after the usual period of study, and located himself in Thomaston. Possessing an intellect of a high order, of uncommon powers of elocution, of great readiness of perception and application of legal principles, of which he had acquired an uncommon share, he soon attained to a high standing at the bar. He excelled as an advocate, to the jury, by whom he was listened to without weariness, and his efforts were not unfrequently crowned with success. Mr. Farley had a high sense of honor, and we have never heard his integrity called in question. He was courteous in his manners, amiable in his disposition, and bland in his address. In a word, we had few members of the bar whose early and brief course was more auspicious, and promised fairer for future distinction, than the subject of this note. But these

bright hopes and prospects were at an early period doomed to be blighted, by failure in his health and strength.

Although the sun of his genius sank early, and went down in a cloud, still it was long enough in the ascendant to furnish ample proof that had his life and health been prolonged, he would have been an ornament to the bar, and an honor to the State and to his country. He died in 1839, at the early age of thirty-six.

HON. JONATHAN CILLEY

Was a native of New Hampshire. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College of the class of 1825. After reading law the usual period, he was admitted to the bar, and established himself in Thomaston. He was a man of fine personal appearance and of very prepossessing manners. He was possessed of a superior intellect, and had acquired the reputation of a good scholar. He was very evidently designed, and well fitted by his superior knowledge and abilities, to take an important political stand in the councils of his country. He commenced the practice of law under very auspicious circumstances, and readily acquired a good share of business. He was soon elected to represent his own town in the Legislature of the State, and after a session or two, was chosen to represent his district in Congress, in 1837. He entered that body, though very young, under favorable aspects, and by his participation in the discussion of several important questions, showed himself to be possessed of those qualities which would render him an able debater. But these bright hopes and prospects were unhappily soon blighted, by his acceptance of a challenge sent him by Mr. Graves, a member of the House from Kentucky, for some expression used in debate, reflecting upon a

third person, J. W. Webb, a friend of Mr. Graves, and whose cause he espoused. Between Messrs. Cilley and Graves there was no hostility, and ought to have been none, and there was not, on the part of Cilley, any unkindly feeling. He had not said or done anything to warrant this call upon him. But Mr. Cilley, unfortunately, under the influence of a nice sense of honor, judged otherwise. He accepted the challenge, and was mortally wounded by his adversary, and died in 1838, at the age of thirty-five.

This fatal accident produced a thrill through the public mind not before experienced on any similar occasion. It not only pervaded the hearts of his numerous friends at home, but those of the community generally, especially those of his native, and his adopted States. This barbarous practice ought to be proscribed by every civilized community. It is alike repugnant to the mild precepts of Christianity, as it is to the principles of sound morality. If there are cases which would form an exception, the above is not one of them. It can only be resorted to, when to avoid it, life would become a burden, and character and reputation would be destroyed. We have heard of such cases, but, in civil life, they are of such rare occurrence as not to be tolerated, or to form the basis of a principle. It furnishes no test of honor, truth, or justice. There is no equality in this appeal. The advantage is with the best marksman, and not with the party who has the highest sense of honor, or is most free from all blemishes in his reputation. No man, having a wife and children dependent upon him for their support and protection, is justifiable or excusable for hazarding his life in this manner, either upon principles of the strictest honor or of sound morality. Cilley judged otherwise, and judged erroneously. Mr. Henry Clay was much censured by the friends of Cilley, for his supposed agency in this catastrophe. It was said that he was applied

to by the opponent of Cilley, and not only did nothing to prevent, but was supposed to have aided in producing the fatal meeting. It was alleged that he drafted the preliminary correspondence on the part of Graves, who had espoused the cause of Webb, editor of the "New York Courier and Enquirer," a paper devoted to the interests of Mr. Clay, then aiming at the Presidency, and who was believed to be far removed from the position of an impartial observer of the causes which led to the impending conflict and fatal result. The remains of Mr. Cilley were transported to Thomaston, the place of his domicile, and deposited in the cemetery of that town. His late fellow citizens, following the impulse of their affections, as a tribute of respect to his memory, have erected a distinguishing monument at his grave with an appropriate inscription.

WE here close our sketches of some of the characteristics of many of the deceased members of the bar of the counties of Lincoln and Kennebec, as derived from tradition or observation. We do not claim to have embraced the whole number. Some may have been omitted by accident others have been from design. But this beginning need not preclude others more competent, from supplying, in a future attempt, anything which may be wanting in this.

F. ALLEN,

A MEMBER OF THE KENNEBEC BAR.

ARTICLE III.

MEMOIR

OF

BENJAMIN VAUGHAN, M. D. AND LL. D.

BY

HON. ROBERT HALLOWELL GARDINER.

MEMOIR OF DR. VAUGHAN.

THE committee appointed at the last meeting of the Historical Society, to procure a memoir, for their publications, of the late Dr. Benjamin Vaughan, communicated with his family upon the subject, and learned that Dr. Vaughan had in his lifetime expressed a wish, that no memoir of him should be written; in compliance with which, they had declined the offer of the late Alden Bradford to write his life, and could not give their assent to the writing of it by any other person.

While your committee feel that it would not be proper to act in contradiction to these expressed wishes of Dr. Vaughan and his family, they do not deem it inconsistent with respect to those feelings, to give a slight notice of a gentleman, so distinguished for his learning and benevolence; and who took so warm an interest in developing the resources of his adopted State.

Dr. Benjamin Vaughan was the oldest son of Samuel Vaughan, a London merchant, engaged in commerce with the American colonies; in pursuit of which, he occasionally visited Boston, where he became attached to, and subsequently married, Sarah, eldest daughter of Benjamin Hallowell, a merchant in extensive business, and holding the office of navy agent under the British government, and celebrated by the poet Green for his public spirit. Mrs. Vaughan was a lady of great amiability of character, of much active

kindness, and of strong practical common sense. Her husband owned a valuable plantation in the island of Jamaica, to which he made occasional visits; and there the subject of this notice was born, April 30, 1751.

He was educated in England, and at a suitable age was sent to study in Cambridge, without being matriculated, as at that time, the signature to the thirty-nine articles was a prerequisite to matriculation at either of the English Universities; and Mr. Vaughan having been brought up as a Unitarian, could not conscientiously comply with this requisition, and was not admitted to any of the collegiate honors, but in all other respects, had the same advantages as other students. He had imbibed strong Whig principles, and soon after leaving Cambridge, became private secretary to Lord Shelburne, through whose interest he became member of Parliament for the borough of Calnes Wiltshire. Mr. Vaughan became attached to Miss Manning, an accomplished lady, of lively wit, and who, from the miniature likeness still preserved of her, must in youth have been very beautiful. She was the daughter of a wealthy London merchant, whose son became governor of the Bank of England, and whose grandson was one of the ablest writers of the Oxford tracts, and who subsequently seceded to the church of Rome. The father refused his consent to his daughter's marriage, because Mr. Vaughan had no independent fortune, nor any profession or business by which he could acquire one. To attain the object of his affections, Mr. Vaughan went to Edinburgh, and there pursued a regular course of medicine for two years, and having obtained his degree of M. D., returned to England, where he obtained the hand for which he had so faithfully labored. His father-in-law made him a partner in his business, and assigned to him the charge of the extensive correspondence of the house, the heads of which were given to him by the senior partner.

Mr. Vaughan inherited from his parents a strong predilection for America, and lived on intimate terms with all the distinguished Americans residing in London, among whom were Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Laurens of South Carolina. The colonies found it necessary to have agents residing in London to represent their interest, and they generally selected for the office their most distinguished men. In such society Mr. Vaughan became an enthusiast for American Independence.

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, there was no longer expectation of reducing the American colonies to obedience, and the British nation became clamorous for peace; and as peace necessarily included the acknowledgment of American Independence, it could not but be deeply mortifying to British pride. While yielding to necessity, Lord Shelburne was desirous that peace should be concluded with as little irritation as possible; and as the negotiation would be out of the common course of diplomacy, he applied to Mr. Vaughan to recommend as ambassador, some person well acquainted with the American character, and who would know how far it would be necessary to yield to American claims. Upon his recommendation, Richard Oswald, a merchant largely engaged in commerce with the colonies, was appointed to treat with the American Commissioners, and at the solicitation of his Lordship, Mr. Vaughan accepted the office of confidential messenger, constantly passing between the minister in London and the ambassador in Paris, to carry proposals, explanations and suggestions, which it was not thought expedient to commit to writing. Lord Shelburne highly valued this service, and was desirous on the part of government to remunerate it liberally; but Mr. Vaughan declined all compensation, although his father-in-law, a high Tory, cut him off from a year's profits of the house, for neglecting the business of the firm to engage in American politics.

The French revolution has been frequently considered as the natural sequence of American Independence. The English Whigs, particularly those who were Unitarian, hailed with enthusiasm the first dawning of this revolution, and many of the most distinguished were specially invited to attend the opening of the first National Assembly; an invitation which was accepted by Dr. Vaughan, who took Mrs. Vaughan with him. They believed that the French were about to shake off the shackles of feudal tyranny, under which the nation had so long groaned, and to establish that *Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality*, which they had proclaimed by carving the words on the front of all their public buildings. It required the prophetic eye of Burke, to perceive, through this glare, the scenes of anarchy, bloodshed, crime, and despotism, which were to follow, and that every spark of liberty would eventually be extinguished. The English Whigs, dazzled with the present enthusiasm, shut their eyes to the future, and sighed for such a republic in England. The more prudent would have been satisfied with the introduction of gradual changes in the constitution of their country, but the more ardent fraternized with the French politicians, and were anxious that England should be at once revolutionized into a democratic republic.

In their enthusiasm, they had made themselves believe that the great mass of the nation were ready for the change, and that the introduction of a small body of French troops, to give confidence in the first rising, would at once excite a general demand throughout the nation for a republican form of government. To effect this object, they entered into correspondence with leading members of the French Government, who readily acceded to their wishes. The English ministry, having obtained information of this correspondence, caused the arrest of a number of the persons implicated; several of whom were tried, convicted, sentenced,

and transported to Botany Bay. Upon Stone, one of the convicts, was found a letter of Dr. Vaughan's, dissuading against the project of calling in French troops. As soon as the Doctor heard of this, he instantly fled to France, and sought an asylum with Mr. Skipwith, the American consul-general in Paris.

His brother-in-law, Manning, a member of Parliament and a Tory, applied to Mr. Pitt, to know in what light Dr. Vaughan's conduct was viewed by the government, and whether it would be safe for him to return to England. Mr. Pitt replied that they perfectly understood Dr. Vaughan's character, that they considered him an enthusiast, but in no way a dangerous person, that he might return and resume his seat in Parliament; and he would assure him that no notice would be taken by the government of anything that Dr. Vaughan had said or done. Dr. Vaughan would place no confidence in this declaration of Mr. Pitt, but viewed it as a trap laid to get him into the power of the ministers, and he never again set foot upon the soil of England.

Mr. Skipwith received him in the most friendly manner; gave him the use of his country-house, where he resided more than a year, in a kind of incognito, though he constantly received visits from the *savans* and distinguished men of Paris. Unable to return to England, he determined to become a citizen of the American republic. As the existing war between France and England prevented his family from joining him in Paris, he directed them to proceed to the United States under the charge of Mr. Merrick, a tutor in the family, and who subsequently married his sister; and he wrote to his brother Charles in Boston, to have a place provided for their reception, where they could remain till he was ready to join them. Charles established them at Little Cambridge, now Brighton, where Dr. Vaughan joined them in about eighteen months, in the year 1796, and then

took them to Kennebec, making his permanent residence at Hallowell, on family property derived from his maternal grandfather, after whom the town was named. Here he occupied himself in study, in an extensive correspondence with distinguished persons on both sides of the Atlantic, and in promoting the welfare of the place, and of the people among whom he had fixed his residence.

He had an extensive library, and his books were freely loaned to all who were disposed to read them. His medical education became also useful. In addition to his medical library, he received regularly all the new and valuable books on medicine published in England; and although he did not practice as a regular physician, he was constantly called upon in consultation in important cases, with the neighboring physicians, where he gave his advice readily and always gratuitously. The poor he visited without being accompanied by a regular physician, not only giving advice, but furnishing also the requisite medicine, and frequently supplying the nourishing food needed for their recovery. In the year 1811, the epidemic known as the spotted fever, and sometimes called the cold fever, from prevailing only in the winter season, visited the northern portion of the United States, and like the Asiatic cholera, marched slowly, but with resistless power from place to place. During its prevalence in Hallowell, Dr. Vaughan was indefatigable in his attentions to the sick, and in his efforts to stay the progress of the disease, and he consented to take the entire charge of Dr. Page's numerous patients, prostrated with that complaint, during his absence at Wiscasset, where the epidemic was just appearing, and where he went at the urgent solicitation of the people, for a few days, to give them the benefit of the experience he had acquired in its management. The agriculture of the country was indebted to Dr. Vaughan for the introduction of new varieties of seed

and plants, and for the importation of improved breeds of animals. His fortune was considerably diminished by the large sums expended upon his farm and nursery.

Dr. Vaughan was a man of great learning. He was a rapid reader, and the marginal notes in most of his books bear testimony to the attention with which he read, and he could give clear and condensed sketches of an author's views. His knowledge was always at command, and no subject could be introduced into conversation, upon which he would not give additional information. From this very extensive knowledge and ready power of producing it, he has been called a walking encyclopedia. He was, however, a learned man, rather than an original or profound thinker.

Dr. Vaughan came to this country expecting to find the ideal republic, with its patriarchal simplicity, which he had imagined in Europe. Wishing to conform to this fancied simplicity, he directed his plate to be sold, and he had his family dressed in the plainest manner. A few years residence here, and observation of the practical workings of our institutions, disabused him of these visionary theories of the purity and unsophisticated simplicity of a democratic republic; and he became a strong conservative and warm Federalist. Having professedly retired from party strife, he abstained from exercising the elective franchise which he had acquired; but no one felt a stronger interest in the great events which agitated the political world during his residence in this country. Dr. Vaughan, though not subscribing to the doctrine of the trinity, was a serious Christian. He was a regular attendant at the Congregational meeting in Hallowell, contributed very generously to its support, was indefatigable in his kindness and liberality to its pastor and his family; but was not allowed to join with the society in commemorating the dying love of a common

Redeemer. On communion Sundays he came to Gardiner to receive the sacrament of the Episcopal church.

The degree of LL. D. was conferred on Dr. Vaughan by Harvard University, in 1801, and by Bowdoin College, in 1812; and he was a member of numerous literary and scientific societies, both in Europe and in this country. He died at Hallowell, Dec. 8th, 1835, after a short illness, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and in full possession of his faculties, highly and universally respected.

ARTICLE IV.

ALBERT GALLATIN:

AUTOBIOGRAPHY — 1798.

LETTER FROM MR. THATCHER.

LUBEC, JANUARY 30TH, 1850.

Professor Parker Cleaveland,

SIR:

In relation to a letter from the Honorable Albert Gallatin, I have to state that the letter, of which I possess merely a copy, was addressed to Lewis F. Delesdernier, of this town. A transcript thereof I herewith enclose. In addition to this letter, I am able, after many inquiries, to state the following particulars, which I suppose to be substantially correct, and perhaps may not be new to you.

Mr. Gallatin, a native of Geneva, came to this country in 1780, aged nineteen. He landed in Boston a total stranger, without funds, friends, or letters of introduction. The American Revolution had produced such an enthusiasm in his young mind, that, without the knowledge of his relatives, he took passage for this country, for the express purpose of unsheathing a sword in the cause of liberty. Soon after landing, bewildered and lost in the crowd, he was noticed by a native Genevan, the elder Mr. Delesdernier, who approached him and addressed him in his native language, which was the only one Mr. Gallatin then knew. On learning his circumstances and destitution, Mr. Delesdenier supplied his necessities and invited him to his residence in Lubec.

He remained an inmate in Mr. Delesdernier's family till he had an opportunity of joining in a detachment of the American army, enlisting as a private soldier in the Penobscot expedition. After the war, he attempted mercantile business without success. He subsequently obtained the situation of French Tutor in Harvard University. I exerted myself, some years since, to procure his name to be given to a new town in this vicinity.

Mr. Gallatin was a citizen of the United States at the adoption of the constitution. I have understood that his foreign nativity was the only obstacle to his nomination to the Presidency.

I remain, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

STEPHEN THATCHER.¹

¹ Mr. Thatcher died at Rockland, in this State, Feb. 19, 1859, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. A brief memoir of him will appear on another page of this volume.

Mr. Gallatin, at the date of his letter, was a Senator in Congress from Pennsylvania, to which he was chosen in 1793. He was born in Geneva, in 1761, and died at Astoria, N. Y., in 1849. He filled many important offices in our government; he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Jefferson, in 1801: in 1813 was a Commissioner to Ghent on the subject of the then pending war; was subsequently and successively minister to France, the Netherlands, and England. He published many valuable and interesting works, among which was an Indian vocabulary, which may be safely consulted, and treatises on financial matters. Judge Story said of him, "He is truly a great statesman, I rank him side by side with Alexander Hamilton;" again he says: "A man of great learning, he daily adds weight to his counsels and glory to his name."

W.

MR. GALLATIN'S LETTER.

PHILADELPHIA, MAY 25TH, 1798.

Mr. Lewis F. Delesdernier,

MY DEAR SIR:

I received yours in due time, and now enclose a copy of the Act, and also a memorandum in which I have recapitulated such of the most important proofs which it appears to me you should be provided with. You must read both the Law and the memorandum, and not fail in collecting all the necessary documents, and transmit them, if possible, before next December, to the Secretary of War, together with every such additional proof and papers in support of your *sacrifices, sufferings, and services*, as may not have suggested itself to my mind, and which you may think of as being proper on the occasion. I say before next December, because I will desire you to send me at the same time, a copy of all the papers you send to the Secretary, so as to give me an opportunity to examine them, and to write to you back for every additional paper in which, upon inquiry, I may find you have been deficient.

You may see by the Act that the highest class are to be entitled to one thousand acres, and it must be your endeavor, by supplying the most numerous proofs of your *services*, (which, in regard to you, I take it to be a stronger ground

than either your sacrifices or your sufferings), so as to have you placed in that class. In respect to your deceased brother John, I do not believe that he can be entitled to be placed above the lowest class, viz., one hundred acres — and as to your father, I am afraid by the wording of the Act, that having returned to Nova Scotia in 1782 or 1783, he is altogether excluded. Yet upon the ground of his having returned to the United States within a short time after, which shows that he did not return to Nova Scotia to reside therein, according to the excluding words of the Act, and also on the ground of his having been actually in service as interpreter, the best that can be done, must be done, in order to attempt to have him placed on the list. I will add that it may not be improper for you to furnish also proof of your not being rich, and having a large family, and it is on that account, that amongst the other proofs which I have mentioned in the memorandum, I have stated that your father and mother have been supported by you for a length of time, (which although I do not know it, I suppose probable,) because, in case they are excluded themselves, yet that circumstance and their sufferings, will be arguments in your favor to have your case placed in the highest class. I cannot say that it will be in my power to be of any assistance to you in that stage of the business, beyond advising you from time to time, of the steps to be taken by you, and objections which may be started, as also of the best way to remedy them. For the violence of party is such at present, that it is much to be doubted whether *my* interference might not be more hurtful than beneficial to you, with the three officers who are, according to the Act, to decide on the merits of the respective cases. Yet I will act according to circumstances, and if I think it can be done to advantage, will add my affidavit as to the facts I know, and every assistance I possibly can give, to the other proofs you

may send. But it will be more prudent in the first instance, for you to send your papers to the proper officer without my appearing in it. There are two steps in that business I would advise you to take, besides getting all the testimonies from the most respectable inhabitants in your favor, which you must by no means neglect. The first is, to write to Mr. Parker,¹ your representative in Congress, and to request him to attend to your business, sending him also a copy of the papers which you shall have procured, and sent to the Secretary of War, stating to him your and your family's case, and getting from some gentleman, friendly to you, and who may be personally acquainted with him, a letter of recommendation for him. The second is, to write to that officer of the Treasury Department, with whom you are in the habit of corresponding as naval officer, (whether it be the Secretary or Comptroller), a letter, recommending your case to his examination, and stating as briefly and clearly as you can, the principal circumstances of your case, referring him for details to your papers sent to the Secretary of War, according to the directions of the Law. This is all that now strikes me as important, but if, after having read my letter, the memorandum, and the Law, you want any further explanation, write me about it, directing your letter, if you write during the session of Congress, to Philadelphia, and if after, to *Uniontown, Pennsylvania*. After the business of deciding upon the quantity of land to which you may be entitled shall have been fixed, which cannot take place before eighteen months at least, the next thing to be done will be to locate the land. The manner in which

¹ Isaac Parker, afterward Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, then resided at Castine, in this State, and represented the first eastern District in Congress from 1797 to 1799, when he was appointed United States Marshal of the Maine District, and moved to Portland. He died Chief Justice, in 1830.

it shall be done is not yet determined, and is extremely important on account of the differences in the quality and value of the lands in the North West Territory. But in whatever manner it may be done, I will be able in that stage of the business to be of some use to you, as I live in that part of the country, and am well acquainted with the lands and their respective value. I need not add how extremely welcome you will be to any services I can render you.

Indeed, my dear friend, I have not forgotten, I never will forget you, nor your parents, — I feel for their afflictions, and it has distressed me not a little, that my situation did not permit me to alleviate their sufferings. I remember all of you, I often think of you, and never would I do it without pleasure, were not that emotion checked by the regret I feel at your misfortunes. I flatter myself that I cannot but meet with similar sentiments for me in your breast, and therefore will give you a short account of myself since we last parted, which as you know was at Providence in 1783. You ask me about our friend Serre, — he has been dead near fifteen years, for having gone to Jamaica a very few months after you saw him last, he died there, almost immediately after his arrival, of one of the fevers generated by that climate. I staid myself in Virginia with Mr. Savory till the spring of 1784, when I went to the western country, sometimes called the Ohio country, and remained there two years, in locating and directing the surveys of a quantity of land for myself, Mr. Savory, and others. In 1786, being twenty-five years old, I received from Geneva my small patrimony, and purchased a plantation of about four hundred acres, on which I have lived ever since. It lies in Fayette County, State of Pennsylvania, on the east bank of Monongahela river, (which empties into the Ohio at Pittsburgh) only a few miles north of the State of Virginia, and about fifty miles south of Pittsburgh, I am a bad farmer, and

have been unfortunate in some mercantile pursuits I had embraced. I have just made out to live independent, and am neither richer nor poorer than I was twelve years ago, — the fact is, I am not well calculated to make money — I care but little about it, for I want but little for myself, and my mind pursues other objects with more pleasure than mere business. Most of my time, indeed, has been employed in reading and in improving myself as well as I could. In 1784 I married, but had the misfortune to lose my wife after six months' marriage. The same year I was elected a member of the convention which formed the constitution of Pennsylvania, and from that time till now, I have been always a member, either of the Legislature of this State, or a member of Congress. In that political life, some acquirements, and a tolerable share of attention to public business, have rendered me more conspicuous than I could have expected, but without increasing my happiness, and still less, my fortune. Yet I feel very far from being unhappy, for in 1793 I married a very amiable and lovely wife — her parents and connections are respectable, and much attached to me — by her I have only one son, eighteen months old, — and enjoying thus much domestic happiness, without being rich, I have certainly no room to complain. As to my political character, during these violent party times no man could expect the approbation of all. Mine is praised by some, and abused by others. But you may perhaps remember that I am blessed with a very even temper — it has not been altered by time or politics, and I quietly pursue that line of conduct, which to my weak judgment appears to be the best for the welfare of that country which has granted me a generous asylum and entrusted me with its most important concerns. I am sensible that I am liable to error, as liable as any other man; but I do not believe that I am very apt to be led away by passion, or to

be blinded by enthusiasm and prejudice in favor of any modern system; and to you, I am sure, I need not say that the integrity of my heart, and the innocence of my manners have remained unsullied, and remain the same as you knew them in the days of my youth. Indeed, I have said so much, only because far too much credit has been given me for abilities at the expense of the purity of my motives.

I forgot to mention that in the year 1788, in February, I went—being then at Boston—to Wiscasset, and had an intention to go and pay you a visit. But the severity of the season, the difficulty of finding a conveyance, and hearing that you had gone to Boston, prevented me from my pursuing my journey any farther. When you write again, I shall be glad to hear more particularly about your situation. Have you any farm belonging to you? In what part of Passamaquoddy do you reside? Has the country grown very populous? Which of the islands belong to the United States, and which to England?

I wish to be most kindly remembered to your parents. I cannot express how much I wish their situation might be bettered, how much I regret my own incapacity in assisting them. I trust your worthy mother finds in a reliance on a kind Providence, and resignation to the will of her Heavenly Father, that consolation which no human being could afford her under the pressure of her afflictions. Give her, I beg you, the assurances of my most affectionate respect. What shall I say about your poor father? It is better for me to be silent,—for I would only distress both you and myself, by dwelling on that sad subject. Yet I feel a strong desire to be more particularly informed about his situation. Is it only by times that he is afflicted? You have said nothing about your wife. I have not forgotten her, and desire you to give her my best compliments.

I wish you had let me know the name of the vessel in

which your son George came, or that you had directed him to call upon me. You will easily judge that I have but little conception of what he is now, when I will tell you that I often think of him when I play with my child. I would also be glad to hear about Col. Allen and his family, and I wish — if in your power — to be kindly remembered to him. Present also my compliments to the worthy Mr. Jones of Machias, of whom I have ever preserved a grateful remembrance; and also to Mr. Cony (do I spell his name right?) of Campobello. You see by the length of my letter, that I feel happy in conversing with you, and I hope it will encourage you to renew and continue our correspondence.

I remain, with sincere affection,

Your obedient servant and friend,

ALBERT GALLATIN.

Mr. Savory, who usually lives within two miles of me, when I am at home, and who is now in this city, sends you his compliments.

Correctly transcribed from a certified copy.

Attested by

STEPHEN THATCHER.

ARTICLE V.

CASTINE;

AND

THE OLD COINS FOUND THERE.

BY

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

THE CASTIN COINS.

ONE of the earliest settled localities in Maine, as well as one of the most distinguished in our history, is the peninsula of Matchebiguatus, or Major Bigyduce, called by contraction Bagaduce, on which stands the village of Castine.

The origin and signification of this term have never been satisfactorily explained. Palfrey's History of New England intimates that "Point Bagaduce" was a name used as early as 1642, but I can find no authority for such a statement. An approximation to it appears in a deed dated August, 1644, from Gov. Winslow to John Winthrop and others, cited in a note to Winthrop's Journal, vol. 1, page 220, (Savage's edition), where the eastern possessions of the Plymouth Company are referred to, as located "at Matchebiguatus, in Penobscot." No such name is contained in any of the English or French documents relating to the Castin family. In 1760, the infant settlement of the present town of Castine was known as "Baggadoose." During the Revolution, it was called "Maja Bagaduce," and "Maje Bigaduce," more frequently the latter. Gov. Sullivan, in his History of Maine, repeatedly mentions "Bagaduce Point," and "Bagaduce Neck." His manner of spelling the word is now the most common. Williamson's History, vol. ii., page 572, *note*, says "the peninsula, now Castine, originally bore the name of a resident Frenchman, called *Major Big-*

uyduce." As authority for this statement, the letter of Col. Jeremiah Wardwell, of Penobscot, dated March 21, 1820, and the certificate of Capt. Joseph Mansell, of Bangor, made June 27, 1831, are cited. Both papers are deposited in the library of the Society. They constitute the only support that a person named "Major Biguyduce" ever existed. Such an origin of the term is therefore erroneous. The author of the History of Maine seems subsequently to have been convinced of his mistake, for in one of his manuscript books, I find the following: "*Marchebagyduce*, an Indian word, meaning *no good cove.*" Mr. Eaton, in his *Annals of Warren*, page 20, *note*, also says Bagaduce is an Indian name, signifying "bad harbor." A tradition exists that it expresses the idea of great sorrow or trouble, because, at a remote period, the upsetting of a canoe in the swift current of the river, which flows above the peninsula, caused great loss of life, and consequent sorrow or trouble. Whatever may be the correct orthography of the word, no other conclusion than that it is of Indian derivation can be drawn. In support of which I can cite nothing more pertinent than the following extracts from a letter written relative to the matter, by the venerable Jacob M'Gaw, Esq., of Bangor, one of the founders of our Society, addressed to Hon. William Willis, under date of Aug. 5th, 1857.

"In my conversation with old Indians, I have learned from them that the word Majebiguyduce (first syllable pronounced as in our word *majesty*) is purely Indian, and is descriptive of the river which flows in front of the beautiful town of Castine. All old Indians unite in defining *Majebigaduce* as being '*a river having many large coves or bays.*' One intelligent Indian says that it expresses or includes the idea of the bar or ledge that crosses the river about two or three miles above the village of Castine, and just below two large bays at the head of the river, called Northern Bay and Southern Bay. This ledge resembles a low dam, over which the tide water falls, after about half tide, so as to render the navigation by large vessels or boats difficult, until the obstruction made by the dam or ledge is overcome. As the orthography of the word Major-biguyduce or Maje-bigaduce is altogeth-

er arbitrary, I have only attempted to spell it as nearly in accordance with the sound received as I can." ¹

The beauty and prominence of its situation, added to the security and extent of its harbor, attracted the attention of the first voyagers who sailed along our coast, and under the name of Pentagoet, it was a well known place of resort to the French fishermen, long before any settlement had been effected north of Virginia. Champlain, who in 1604 entered Penobscot Bay, and who may be regarded as the first known white man who looked upon its spacious harbors and verdant islands, gives a conspicuous designation to Pentagoet ² on the map which accompanies the account of his voyages, and the same place is mentioned by Captain John Smith, who visited it twelve years afterwards, as the principal habitation he saw at the northward. ³ According to Bancroft, the first intelligible sounds of welcome which greeted the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, were from an Indian who had learned a little English of the fishermen at Penobscot. ⁴

The Plymouth Company established a trading house at Penobscot in 1630, ⁵ where they 'carried on an extensive traffic with the natives, for five years, when D'Aulney, a subordinate commander under Razillai, the governor of Acadie, took possession of the country by virtue of a commission

¹ I think the proper spelling of the word is *Matche-Biguatus*. *Matche* means *bad*, — as *Matchegon*, the Indian name of the north-eastern end of Portland, means *bad clay*, and includes Clay Cove. *Matche*, in all the New England dialects, expresses something bad; it is from *Mat*, no, not. In the Narragansett, *Matchit* means naught, evil; and in all its combinations implies negation. What *Biguatus* means, I do not know. w.

² Champlain's Map, Berjon's edition.

³ Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. iii. 21, 3d series.

⁴ Bancroft's Hist. United States, i. 316.

⁵ Bradford's Hist. Plymouth Plan., Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. iii., 4th series.

from the king of France. Four years previous, the French had obtained entrance into this trading house, by means of stratagem, and robbed it of goods to the value of five hundred pounds. An attempt was made by the Plymouth men to displant the French, and regain their possession, but it failed through the incapacity of the director of the expedition which was dispatched for that purpose. D'Aulney erected a fort, and made Penobscot his fixed place of residence. After the death of Razillai, he became involved in hostilities with La Tour, who had established himself at the mouth of the river St. John, and who claimed that the government of Acadie had been rightfully delegated to him. The bloody contentions of these rivals continued for many years to disturb the tranquillity of the English settlements, and form one of the most romantic passages in the history of the new world. D'Aulney retained the control of Acadie until 1654, when it was conquered by the English. Col. Temple, the first English governor, resided at Penobscot after the French had left, and carried on a trade there. ¹ By the treaty of Breda, in 1667, it was restored to its former owners, ² and was by them retained for nearly a century.

BARON DE ST. CASTIN.

Although Penobscot is associated with the names of many of the most prominent adventurers who appear in our early history, that of Vincent de St. Castin is the most distinguished. He had been an officer in the body guard of the king of France, and was a man of wealth and distinction. Born near the Pyrenees, and accustomed to their wild and

¹ Sullivan's Hist. Maine, 158.

² Holmes' Am. Ann. i. 346.

rugged scenery, the primeval forests of Acadie accorded well with his eccentric disposition, and soon after arriving at Quebec, in 1665, the regiment of which he was the commander having been disbanded, he selected the pine clad peninsula of Biguatus as his place of residence. On the same spot which had previously been occupied by D'Aulney and by Temple, he erected a fortified habitation, and for over a quarter of a century carried on an extensive and profitable trade; receiving supplies of merchandise from France, and exchanging them with the Indians for furs. La Hontan estimated his profits to have been two or three hundred thousand crowns,¹ and Castin himself informed M. Tibierge, in 1695, that eighty thousand livres could be annually realized at Penobscot out of the beaver trade.² A census of Acadie, taken in 1673, enumerates thirty-one white persons, including soldiers, who were connected with Castin's establishment.³ He formed a close alliance with the savages, by marrying the daughter of Madockawando, their chief, and his influence over them was so great that they regarded him as their tutelar god. Within his habitation was a chapel, decorated with the emblems of the Catholic church, and attended by several priests, whose solemn rites and unintelligible ceremonies have never failed to impress a barbarous people. To the exertions of Castin may be traced the origin of Catholicism among the Tarratines.

The extent of dominion and the wealth which Castin acquired rendered him to the French a powerful ally, no less than to the English a formidable adversary. A zealous bigot in religion, he was the frequent instigator of hostilities towards the Protestants, and on repeated occasions he

¹ La Hontan, *New Voyages*, i. 471.

² *Memoir on Acadie* by M. Tibierge, Oct. 1, 1695.

³ Coll. French MSS. Sec'y's Office, Boston, ii. 253.

took command of the Indians aided by reinforcements of French troops, in expeditions against the New England settlements. In several instances, however, the English were the aggressors. King William's war, by some writers called Castin's war, which was carried on between Massachusetts and the eastern tribes from 1688 to 1697, originated in the unprovoked robbery of Castin by the English.¹ In June, 1688, Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of Massachusetts, without a reasonable pretext, and influenced only by a desire of enlarging his power and of increasing his wealth, proceeded to Penobscot in the frigate *Rose*. Entering the harbor, he anchored before Castin's door, and sent his lieutenant on shore to request an interview. The Baron, suspecting that it was designed to make him prisoner, immediately retired with his company from the peninsula, and the Governor on landing found the house deserted. All the arms and ammunition which the fort contained, together with a quantity of merchandise and furniture, he placed on board the *Rose*, and carried to Pemaquid, "in condemnation of trading at Penobscot." The altar, pictures, and ornaments of the chapel were left undisturbed. Andros afterwards sent word to Castin that every article seized should be restored, if he would render allegiance to the English. But the base act so exasperated him that he refused to reply, and used his exertions to excite the Indians to hostilities, which they commenced the following August.² During the war, the English burned all habitations on the peninsula, obliging Castin and his servants "to hide their merchandise far in the woods, so as to have it secure from plunder."³

¹ Belk. Hist. N. H. 135.

² Hutch. Hist. i. 330.

³ Memoir on Acadie, by M. Tibierge.

In 1703, while Castin was in France, the English again visited his fort, which he had rebuilt, and plundered it of all its most valuable articles.¹ The next year, Major Church, in his fifth eastern expedition, killed or took captive all the inhabitants at Penobscot, both French and Indians, "not knowing," as he says, "that any one did escape." Among the prisoners was Castin's daughter, who said her father had gone to reside on his estate in France.² Church also carried away all the valuables which could be found.

Castin went to France in 1701,³ and probably never returned to this country. His son by his Indian wife continued to reside at Penobscot, and for many years occupied an influential position among the savages. In the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts are letters relative to Indian affairs, written as late as 1754, by Joseph Dabadis de St. Castin, who was probably a grandson of the Baron. Nothing is known of any of the family after that time. Some of them undoubtedly remained at Penobscot until the commencement of the French war. Gov. Pownall of Massachusetts, in 1759, took formal possession of the peninsula in the name of the King, and hoisted the English flag on Castin's fort. He found the settlement deserted and in ruins.⁴

It would be foreign to the object of the present article, to give any extended account of the history of Penobscot. It is sufficient to have traced the outlines of the principal events which occurred while it was under the control, and in the possession of the French, and especially during the residence of the Castins.

¹ Hist. Maine, ii. 42.

² Church's Fifth Exp. 261.

³ Copies of French MSS. in Sec'y's office, Boston, 5. 103.

⁴ Gov. Pownall's Journal.

The mention of the discovery of a large and valuable collection of ancient coins in the immediate vicinity of Biguatus, is calculated to awaken all the interesting historical associations which for a period of nearly two centuries are connected with that locality, while the absence of even any traditionary evidence of such a deposit or concealment affords an opportunity for varied conjecture. It is proposed to give an account of this treasure trove, and of the means by which it was brought to light, and to make some suggestions as to the cause of its long inhumation.

It was not on the peninsula that these coins were found, nor within the limits of the town of Castine, but on the banks or shore of the Bagaduce river, about six miles from the site of Castin's fort, in the town of Penobscot. This river, at its mouth, forms the harbor of Castine, and is navigable for small vessels for several miles above the village. At about six miles above, is a point called "Johnson's Narrows," or "Second Narrows," where the water is of great depth, and at certain periods of the tide forms a rapid current. A path leads across the point, and from the adaptation of the shore as a landing place, it is probable that the usual passage from Biguatus to Mt. Desert, was up this river as far as the narrows. Near the narrows the coins were discovered.

The first indication of the hidden coins was perceived at the close of one of the last days in November, 1840, by Captain Stephen Grindle, on the farm he owned and occupied at the Second Narrows, before described. While engaged with his son, Samuel Grindle, in hauling wood down the bank to the shore, the latter picked up a piece of money near a rock which was partially buried in the ground. The rock was on a side hill, and when uncovered, presented an irregular surface of about four square feet. Its situation was some twenty-five yards from the shore, and in the di-

rect line of a beaten track through the bushes, which has been used as a path across the point for a time beyond the remembrance of the oldest inhabitants. At the termination of this path on the shore, is an indentation or landing place, well adapted for canoes, and the natural features and facilities of the spot are confirmatory of a tradition that one of the Indian routes from the peninsula to Mount Desert and Frenchman's Bay was up the Bagaduce river, and from thence across to Bluehill Bay. The land was very rocky, and covered with a second growth of trees; the original growth having been cut about seventy-five years. At the time the coins were found, Capt. Grindle, together with his father-in-law, Mr. Johnson, had resided on the farm for over sixty years. Portions of the top of the rock were embedded in the soil to the depth of a foot, and a clump of alders grew around. The appearance of the place is not now the same as when the discovery was made. Repeated digging has laid the rock bare to the depth of several feet, and the side hill has washed away.

Upon finding the first coin, which proved to be a French crown, Capt. Grindle and his son commenced digging away the earth around the rock, and by the time it was dark, had possessed themselves of eighteen or twenty additional pieces. They then abandoned the search, intending to renew it on the following day. That night a severe snow storm occurred, which covered the ground, and rendered further investigations during the winter impracticable. Early in the spring they resumed the examination. On the top of the rock, embedded in the mass, one or two coins were found, and upon striking a crowbar into the declivity, and grubbing up the alders, they came upon a large deposit, numbering some four or five hundred pieces of the currency of France, Spain, Spanish America, Portugal, Holland, England, and Massachusetts. Mr. Grindle's wife held her apron,

which her husband and son soon loaded with, as she afterwards remarked, "the best lapful she had ever carried." The greater part of the money was found contiguous to the rock, but many pieces were afterwards exhumed ten or twelve feet distant. As several of the smaller coins appeared to be scattered down the declivity, it was probable that they were washed away by the action of the elements. No vessel or covering, or remains of any, were found in connection with the coins. Appearances indicated that the deposit was originally made at the side of, or perhaps on the rock, without any protection except a perishable one. Many of the coins retained their original brilliancy, but some were blackened and discolored by exposure to the weather. Dr. Joseph L. Stevens,¹ of Castine, visited the spot early in April, 1841, while Capt. Grindle was still engaged in searching the ground, and several coins were dug up in his presence. An opportunity was afforded him to examine at his leisure the entire collection, before the owner had disposed of any portion, and to select the most perfect specimens of each variety which could be found. These, seventeen in number, he paid for at the rate of old silver. Other gentlemen secured similar samples; but Dr. Stevens' collection is the most complete that has been preserved. Most of the coins were paid to a creditor of Capt. Grindle, and ultimately found their way into the crucible of a silversmith. The exact amount which their fortunate discoverer realized probably exceeded five hundred dollars. No other money has ever since been discovered at Johnson's Point, but the extent of numerous excavations in its vicinity indicate that the neighboring inhabitants believe that additional treasures are yet concealed.

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Stevens for very valuable information in relation to the coins. Without his kind assistance, it would have been impossible to have prepared this article.

Most of the coins were French crowns, half-crowns, and quarters, all of the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., and bore various dates, from 1642 to 1682. With a few exceptions they were bright and but little worn, and when placed where they were found could not have been long in circulation. Their excellent workmanship, compared with that of English or Spanish coins of a similar date, shows the superiority of the French in the arts, even at that period. The regularity of the letters, and the general appearance of each piece are but little inferior to those of the present age. On the obverse of all these French coins is a profile of the reigning sovereign, surrounded by the inscription "LVD-XIII.- (or XIV., according to the date,) D-G-FR-ET-NAV-REX," for "Ludovicus XIII. (or XIV.) Dei Gratiâ Franciæ et Navarræ Rex:" "Louis XIII. (or XIV.) by the Grace of God King of France and Navarre." Some of the specimens contain, between the letters G and FR, a small figure, such as a star, lion, &c., indicating under whose dictation the coinage took place. The profile on the crowns bearing date 1652 represents the king as a child, while that on those of 1680 exhibits the mature features of a stern man.¹ The two would not be recognized as the face of the same person. The reverse has the figure of a plain shield, surmounted by a crown, with a legend extending around as follows: "SIT-NOMEN-DOMINI-BENEDICTUM, that is, "Blessed be the name of the Lord." The letter A, which appears inverted before the last word on most of the pieces, denotes the mint mark of Paris.² At the left of the top of the shield is the date.

¹ Louis XIV., often styled the Great, ascended the throne in 1643, in the fifth year of his age, under the regency of Anne of Austria, his mother. He died after a reign of seventy-two years: one of the longest on the pages of history.

² "The coinage of each of the French mints may be known by its mint-

French crowns of the time of Louis XIV. are now seldom to be found, except in the cabinets of numismatologists. A few years ago they were occasionally brought from Canada to the United States mint for recoinage, being so much worn as to be no longer passable.¹

A large part of the money, numerically considered, consisted of the old Massachusetts or Pine Tree currency, of which there were fifty or seventy-five shillings, and nearly as many sixpences. They are of rude manufacture, very thin, and not uniform in diameter. The intrinsic value of a shilling, when un mutilated, is sixteen cents and two thirds.² Both shillings and sixpences are simple in design. On one side a double ring around the circumference encloses the words "IN MASATHVSETS," and in the center is the figure of a pine tree. A similar ring on the reverse surrounds the legend "NEW ENGLAND, AN DOM," that is, Anno Domini. In the interior is the date, 1652, and beneath it the figures XII. or VI., according to the value of each piece in pence. This money was the first coined in the colonies, and with the exception of similar coins issued in Maryland, the only ones struck until the Revolution. The earliest emissions of the Massachusetts mint hardly deserved the name of money.³ Their only inscriptions were the letters NE for New England, and figures indicating the value. Such rude impressions soon became the subject of fraudulent imitations, and in a few months more elaborate designs were substituted. Specimens of the first kind are exceedingly rare, as their circulation was of short duration. All the

mark or letter; that of Paris is the letter A," &c. — Eckfeldt and Du Bois : *Manual of Coins*, 55.

¹ Eckfeldt and Du Bois, 57.

² *Dictionary of Coins*.

³ *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 2d series, ii. 274.

Pine Tree money bears the same date, viz, 1652, although the mint was in constant operation for nearly forty years after. The reason of this is, that subsequent to the restoration, the coining of money by the colonies was declared an encroachment upon the royal prerogative,¹ and further issues were forbidden. This order was evaded by retaining the original date on all the pieces.² The Massachusetts mint was probably discontinued at the commencement of the reign of William and Mary, in 1688. Its products are said to have been current in this country down to the Revolution, although Judge Hutchinson, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, in 1761 sent a Pine Tree shilling and sixpence to England, "as something of a curiosity."³

The next largest proportion consisted of the clumsy, shapeless Spanish coinage, commonly called "cob money" or "cobs," and sometimes "cross money," from the figure of a cross, which always characterizes it. The meaning of the word "cob" is unknown. In Mexico, this currency was termed "*maquina de papalote y cruz*," that is, "windmill and cross money."⁴ None of the specimens appear to have been made by machinery, but seem like lumps of bullion, flattened and impressed by the means of a hammer. The

¹ Soon after the accession of Charles II., Sir Thomas Temple, Governor of Acadie, being at London, held an interview with the king, in the course of which his majesty expressed great dissatisfaction against the people of Massachusetts, for invading his right by coining money without authority. Gov. Temple exhibited some of the coin to the king, who seeing the pine tree, inquired what it was emblematical of. The immediate reply was that it was a figure of the royal oak which saved his majesty's life. This answer mollified the king, and induced him to favor the pleas which the Governor made in behalf of the colony. — Felt's Historical Account of Mass. Coinage, 38, 39.

² Barry, Hist. of Mass. i. 344, note.

³ Felt's Hist. Account of Mass. Coinage, 49.

⁴ Eckfeldt and Du Bois, 119.

figures and inscriptions are extremely rough and imperfect, and sometimes entirely illegible. The largest of these coins were originally made for dollars, and when new were of the lawful standard. Some of the specimens are what old writers frequently called pieces of eight. Those among the collection of Dr. Stevens are of different weight, and present every variety of form except that of a circle. In the center of the obverse are the pillars of Hercules, with the letters "PLVS VLTRA," "more beyond," crowded in without regard to order, and around the circumference "PHILIPPVS IIII.," or "CAROLVS II.," according to the date.¹ The figure 8 between the pillars on one of the largest pieces, and 2 on the smallest, indicate the value in réals.² On the side of the pillars are letters, which vary according to the date, and are probably mint marks. The reverse has a cross with arms of equal length, loaded at the ends, and of an unusual form, resembling the fan of a windmill.³ The legend which surrounds the exterior, but which is usually mutilated by clipping, was originally "D-G-HISPANIARVM ET INDIARVM REX," "By the Grace of God King of the Spains⁴ and of the Indies." There are mint marks at the ends of the cross, similar to those on the opposite side. Some of the specimens have a date on each side, which generally omits the thousandth and hundredth parts, so that "78" and "82" on the pieces

¹ Philip IV., of Spain, reigned from 1621 to 1662, and was succeeded by his son Charles II., who continued on the throne until 1700.

² The Spanish réal varies in value from twelve and a half cents down to ten, according to the time of its coinage.

³ Eckfeldt and Du Bois, 119.

⁴ By the marriage of Ferdinand of Arragon to Isabella of Castile, in 1469, the two kingdoms of Arragon and Castile were united, and afterwards called "The Spains."

preserved are meant for 1678, and 1682. The full date, 1659, appears on another piece.

One of the cob dollars differs in some particulars from those already described. It is so much worn and battered that the inscriptions are almost obliterated. Instead of pillars, the obverse has a shield enclosing the national arms. The letter G and M, surmounted by O, are the only ones which remain, the latter being the mint mark of Mexico, showing that the coinage took place in that city.¹ This coin is probably the oldest one in the collection.

Among the Spanish coins were a few pillar dollars, which in size and execution resemble the cob money. The one secured by Dr. Stevens is of a hexagonal shape, and is much worn and clipped. The inscriptions upon the obverse are somewhat confused by having received two impressions from the same die. A double circle contains the legend "PHILIPPVS IIII. D-G," and within are the arms of Spain, enclosed in a shield. The value in réals is indicated by the letters VIII. at the right. On the reverse is "HISPANIA-RVM ET INDIARVM REX," as on the cob dollars. The pillars of Hercules, each surmounted by a crown, with "PLVS VLTRA" below, occupy the center. At the right of the pillars is the date, 1657. The letters "ORM" at the left hand, and OR beneath, are mint-marks.

Some Spanish half dollars, or pieces of four réals, were also found. These were made in Spain, and are superior in form and manufacture to the coinage of the colonies.² They appear to have been impressed by means of machinery, al-

¹ Eckfeldt and Du Bois, 119.

² The silver coins of Spain and Spanish America are obviously distinguished: those of the Peninsula have on the reverse the national arms enclosed in a shield, while the coins of the colonies have the two pillars.—Eckfeldt and Du Bois, 119.

though the edges remain uneven. The obverse has a shield, like the pillar dollar. The surrounding legend is the same as that on the cob dollar of 1659. On the right of the shield is IIII., the number of réals, and the letter R, which is a mint-mark, occupies the other side. On the reverse is the date, 1640, and "HISPANIARVM REX." The omission of the remaining part of the inscription which the other Spanish coins contain denotes that this piece is not of American coinage. A plain cross, quartering the national arms, fills the center. Between two of the arms of the cross the figures 300, enclosed in a parallelogram, are impressed in such a manner as to efface a part of the legend.

There were several pieces of Portuguese money found. That preserved by Dr. Stevens is a twenty reis piece, and in size and shape resembles an old-fashioned pistareen. Its value by weight is twenty-two cents and a half. The inscriptions and figures are quite simple. The obverse has a plain shield surmounted by a crown, with a cypher on each side to signify its value in reis. Around the edge is the legend "IOANNES-III D-G-REX-PORTVGALIE," that is, "John IV., by the Grace of God King of Portugal." On the reverse a double circle contains the motto "IN-HOC-SIGNO-VINCES," "By this sign thou shalt conquer." A plain cross with arms of equal length fills the center, with the letter P at each angle, which are probably mint-marks. There is no date, but from the name of the sovereign, which is impressed upon the obverse, it must have been coined between 1630 and 1636.¹

A few Belgic coins were found among the collection, — all three guilder pieces, and also several rix dollars of Holland. One of the latter bore a date anterior to that of the landing of the Pilgrims. That which Dr. Stevens selected

¹ John IV. was proclaimed king of Portugal in 1630, and died in 1636.

was struck in 1641, and is well preserved. In weight and size it resembles a modern Mexican dollar. The obverse has the figure of a knight in armor, his left arm resting upon a shield which encloses the figure of a lion rampant, the arms of the confederacy. Extending around is the legend "MO-ARG-PRO-CONFOE-BELG-GELD," for "*Moneta argentea provinciae confederationis Belgicae*," or translated, "Silver money of Gelderland, a province of the Belgic confederacy."¹ The figure of a lion rampant occupies the reverse, with the motto "CONFIDENS-DNO-NON MOVETVR," the contracted word being DOMINO, and the whole translated being "He that trusts in the Lord is not moved."²

The three-guilder piece is larger than the rix dollar. Its value in our currency is one dollar and seventeen cents. The figure on the obverse is that of a female leaning her left arm on a pedestal, that encloses a device that is too much defaced to be distinguished. Around is the legend "HANC TVEMVR, HAC NITIMVR," i. e., "This we support, on this we depend." The reverse has a shield, surmounted by a crown. Within the shield are the figures of two lions rampant. Over the crown is the date, 1682, and on the side of the shield "3 G," for Three Guilders. The surrounding legend is "MO-NO-ARGENT-ORDIN-WESTF," or "New common silver money of West Friesland."

¹ "The coinage of the Netherlands displays something of the intricacy of its political history. Several series of coins were minted contemporaneously, for many years previous to the Revolution. Each of the seven provinces had its own mint, but the variety in the coinage is not materially due to this fact, since, in most cases, they conformed to a common standard, making only a difference in the legend." — Eckfeldt and Du Bois, 91.

² Charles Folsom, Esq., late librarian of the Boston Athenæum, furnished me with the correct reading of this inscription.

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance, taking into consideration the extensive intercourse which the American colonies always maintained with England, that among so many and so various coins, but a single piece of the money of that nation was found in the collection. This was a shilling, of the reign of Charles I., and is one of the specimens belonging to Dr. Stevens. It has evidently seen some service, but is in a tolerably perfect condition. The obverse of this piece bears a profile head of the king, crowned and facing the left, with the figure XII., denoting the value in pence, behind the head. The surrounding inscription is "CAROLVS LDG MAG BRFRA ET HIB REX," "Carolus I., Dei Gratia Magnæ Britannia, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex," that is, "Charles I., by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland." Immediately over the profile is the mint mark, a diamond enclosed in a circle. On the reverse are the royal arms quartered on a plain shield. Separated by a circle is the motto "CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO," "I reign under the auspices of Christ." There is no date on either side. According to Snelling,¹ the mint-mark on this piece was first used June 15th, 1641, and as Charles I. was executed seven years afterwards, the coin must have been struck between 1641 and 1649. The reverse of all the money coined during the reign of Charles I., from the penny to the crown, has the royal arms impressed.² In the first issues they were enclosed in a square shield, quartered by a cross. The edges of this coin are slightly mutilated by the process of clipping, an evil which became of fearful magnitude in England after the restoration. Macauley says that till the reign of Charles II. the art of milling, or manufacturing coin with a raised inscription around the edge,

¹ Snelling : View of Silver Coin and Coinage in England, 36.

² Kelly's Cambist.

was not employed, and that the English money was struck by a process many generations old. The metal was divided with shears, and afterwards shaped and stamped by the hammer. A disparity in weight and size was therefore common; few pieces were exactly round, and there was no impression upon the edges. Clipping a half penny worth of silver from each shilling became a common and lucrative species of fraud, and the most rigorous laws were enacted for its prevention. The evil was remedied by calling in all the defaced money, and recoinng it by the means of machinery.¹

Many conjectures and opinions have been raised to account for the deposit of these coins in the place where Capt. Grindle found them, but the most satisfactory conclusion which can be arrived at, is that they originally belonged to the Baron St. Castin. This is rendered probable from the location where they were discovered, from their age, and from the fact that a great proportion of them were of French manufacture. Johnson's Narrows are exactly in the route which it is reasonable to suppose Castin would have taken to escape from the English when his residence was attacked by them. It has been shown in another part of this article that the peninsula was repeatedly invaded during King William's war, and the Baron obliged to fly to the woods for safety. Probably it was on the occasion of one of these invasions that the treasure was lost or concealed. On the approach of the enemy Castin placed his most valuable articles in canoes and retreated with them up the river to the Narrows, and from thence crossed over to Frenchman's Bay or to Mount Desert. In the haste of conveyance, the coins, enclosed in a covering which was not proof against the action of the elements, were either lost, or laid down

¹ Macauley's Hist. Eng. iv. 562, 563.

for some temporary purpose on the rock where they were found.¹ If it had been intended to conceal them, the earth would have been removed and a more substantial envelope provided. As none of the coins bore date subsequent to 1688,² it was probably between that year and the Peace of Ryswick, in 1698, that they were lost. The treasure therefore remained undisturbed for nearly a century and a half.³

¹ Mr. William Hutchins, who is the oldest inhabitant of Penobscot, stated in 1855, that when he was young, he knew a man named Conolley, who informed him that a great many years ago, he found near Johnson's Narrows, at the shore, a chest or box covered over with moss, as if it had been exposed for a long time to the weather. Upon opening it, he found remains of goods.

² In 1852, there was picked up on the site of Castin's fort, a French half crown, of the same appearance as those discovered by Mr. Grindle.

³ Penobscot is not the only place in the eastern part of Maine where hidden money has been found. About fifteen years ago, in the town of Sullivan, at the head of Frenchman's Bay, a farmer in plowing a neck of land in front of where the "Ocean House" now stands, turned out an old earthen pot containing nearly four hundred dollars worth of French crowns and half crowns, all bearing date about 1724. [*Machias Union*, July 8, 1856.] The coin wore a bright appearance, but the pot crumbled in its contact with the plow. This money was sold to a silversmith in Boston, but before it all found its way into the crucible, William G. Stearns, Esq., of Harvard College, secured some specimens, which are preserved with his valuable collection of coins.

ARTICLE VI.

REMARKS ON COINS

FOUND AT

PORTLAND IN 1849, AND RICHMOND'S ISLAND IN 1855;

WITH A

GENERAL NOTICE OF COINS AND COINAGE.

BY WM. WILLIS.

OLD COINS IN PORTLAND.

IN the summer of 1849, two old and rare coins were found at different times, and in different places, in the city of Portland. They were lying under the soil, and were accidentally brought once more to light in the process of cultivation.

But in May, 1855, a still more valuable discovery was made at Richmond's Island, in the vicinity of Portland, by which a quantity of coin of the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., of England, and a valuable signet ring, which had been buried for many years, were restored, in good preservation, to the uses and curiosity of the present generation.

I propose to place on the records of the Historical Society, a description of these several treasures, with some historical facts and associations connected with them, and to deposit specimens of the coin in the archives of the Society.

The first piece was turned up in June, 1849, in the garden of the Hon. William P. Fessenden, on State Street, by his gardener. When he first saw it, he supposed it to be an old copper, but being cleansed, it appeared to be a silver sixpence of the reign of Elizabeth, bearing date "1579." About a fourth part of the coin had been eaten away by the

rust; the remainder was in good preservation, and the figures and inscriptions very plain.

Several coinages of gold and silver took place in the reign of Elizabeth, of a purer metal than were in circulation before. Her father had considerably debased the coin in the latter part of his reign, but she restored its standard. The gold coin of her reign consisted of sovereigns, worth twenty shillings; nobles, fifteen shillings; angels and crowns, worth ten shillings. The impression upon all the coinage of her reign was the same, and consisted of her effigy in armor and ruff, hair disheveled, and crowned with the imperial or double crown. The silver coin consisted of crowns, half crowns, shillings, sixpences, groats, equal to four pence, threepences, twopences, half pennies, and farthings; as there had been no copper or brass coinage before the reign of James I., she was obliged to go into this minute system to supply the demand for a circulating medium. One pound weight of standard silver, that is, eleven ounces, two pennyweights of pure silver, and eighteen pennyweights of alloy, the same as now used, was coined into sixty shillings, parts of a shilling, &c., of the value of three pounds sterling.

LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS.

The piece now under consideration is one of her sixpences, and has the impressions and mottos the same as upon the gold coin. On the face, is the head of the Queen and half bust, in armor, a masculine effigy, a crown, but not the imperial, and a rose behind the head, an emblem handed down from the time of Edward III., who first introduced that device upon the gold noble, thence called the rose noble, which was of the value of six shillings eight pence. In the piece referred to, the words remaining on the front are

BETH. D. G. ANG. FR. et HI. RE. On the perfect coin the title is Elizabeth D. G. Ang. Fr. et Hi. Regina. On the reverse are the arms of England and France quartered on a shield, that is, three lilies on each of two diagonal quarters and three lions *passant* on the opposite quarters, over which is the date 1579, being the twenty-first year of her reign. The part of the *motto* remaining is VTOREM. MEV. The perfect motto is *Posui Deum Adjutorem Meum*; I have made God my Helper; which was first adopted by Edward III., and continued by all his successors until the union of the crowns of England and Scotland under James I. The piece at the time it was found, was two hundred and seventy years old, and had lain in the soil, probably, more than one hundred and fifty years, and yet the impressions were distinct, and the coin in good preservation except the portion which had been eaten off by rust. It was found in a part of the garden which had been but a few years under cultivation, and was that year spaded unusually deep. The question now arises, how came this coin there?

All that part of the town was, until about fifty years before the coin was discovered, in a state of nature, covered with a forest or overrun with bushes. Previous to the first Indian war, in 1675, there was a settlement at Clark's point, a little west of the foot of State Street, and about one-third of a mile from the place of discovery. Michael Mitton, who married the only child of George Cleeves, the first settler of Portland, came there as early as 1637, established himself at Clark's point, and received from his father-in-law a grant of all that part of the town, extending across Back Cove and including a portion of the Deering farm. One of his daughters, Elizabeth, named from her mother, married Thaddeus Clark, from whom the point was named, and whose blood flows in the veins of the Tyngs by the marriage of his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, with Capt. Ed-

ward Tyng, a man of high note in the early affairs of Massachusetts and Maine. Another daughter married Thomas Brackett, and a third, Anthony Brackett, who owned and lived on the Deering farm. All the western part of the town, from below High street, except the Bramhall farm, which Cleeves conveyed to Hope Allen in 1660,¹ is held at the present day under that ancient title, from Sir F. Gorges to Cleeves, from Cleeves to Mitton, and from his descendants to its thousands of modern proprietors.

In 1680, at the close of the first Indian war, Capt. Tyng came to Falmouth, married Clark's daughter, and received a conveyance of forty-four acres, extending from Fore river near the western railroad station, north-westerly to a point beyond Main Street, including both Park and State Streets. On this tract, near the bank of the river, where York Street runs, were three houses, in one of which Tyng lived. Pierre Baudouin, better known under his English name, Peter Bowdoin, the Huguenot ancestor of the founder of Bowdoin College, of Gov. Bowdoin, and the present Winthrop family of Boston, also had a house in the neighborhood, and lived there until the second Indian war broke out in 1689, when the whole settlement was again overthrown and destroyed. The land where Park and State Streets are, came, partly by descent and partly by purchase, to Edward, only son of Capt. Edward Tyng, who in 1729, conveyed the *eastern* half to his kinsman, John Tyng, and he in 1736, to Dr. Eliphalet Hale, then resident there. Dr. Hale sold it to Richard Codman, and he to Thomas Robison and his partner, Reed, who built the house on the corner of Park and Congress Streets, where they kept store, which has since been greatly enlarged, and is now occupied by the Miss-

¹ The original deed, on parchment, from Cleeves to Allen, is now in my possession.

es Jones, as a boarding house. They opened a street through their lot from Congress Street to the river, first called Ann, now Park Street. Reed sold his part to John May, of Boston, who opened a store in the same house. May conveyed to William Gray, of Boston, who had a ropewalk upon it, extending from Congress to Gray Street,— Gray parcelled out the land to individuals, and the Park Street Proprietary, between 1830 and 1838. The *western* half of the forty-four acres descended to the heirs of Edward Tyng and it came to the hands of his son William, who sold it to Joseph H. Ingraham, and he, in 1799, opened State Street through it 99 feet wide, and built the first house on the new street, one of the most elegant in town, in 1801, which was owned and occupied by the late Judge Preble. A lot was sold by him to Judge Mellen, who in 1807 erected the house upon it, which is now owned by Mr. Fessenden, in the garden of which, the coin under consideration was found.

Although I have dwelt so long upon a deduction of the title, I have not yet reached the answer to the question, how came the money there? It is evident, that as no such coin has circulated in this country for, probably, near one hundred and fifty years, it must have been dropped there at a very early period in the history of our town. Perhaps the Bracketts, or Clarks, in passing across the town in their visits to each other, or the Tyngs, or the men in the employment of the owners of the soil, in cutting wood or timber, may have lost it; or soldiers in the Indian wars, in scouring these woods in pursuit of the enemy; for Church tells us, in his account of the hot battle he fought with the French and Indians, at Back Cove Creek, in 1689, that he crossed over the hill with a detachment, toward Clark's point, to intercept the enemy and to attack him in the rear; or lastly, it may have escaped from the pouch of

some Indian, wandering over the hill, or concealing himself from pursuit in the recesses of the forest. We can arrive at no nearer solution.

COIN OF THE BELGIAN PROVINCES.

The second coin mentioned at the beginning of this article was found in August, 1849, on a vacant lot on the corner of Brackett and Vaughan streets, in Portland. It proved on examination to be a two and a half guilder piece, or rix dollar of the old seven United Provinces, dated 1655, and equal to one dollar and five mills of our money. It was sometimes called the "leg dollar," from the fact, as is supposed, of the military figure upon it being on foot, and showing only *one leg*. On the face of the coin is the effigy of a knight in armor, one of whose legs is hidden by a shield, which has a lion rampant upon it. Around the border is the legend, of which the following letters only can be traced: MO. AR. CON. BEL. The perfect inscription is "*Mo. Arg. Confœ. Belg. Prov.*" which translated is "Silver money of the confederate Belgian Provinces;" to this was added the name of the province in which it was coined, each province having its own mint, as *Holl.* for Holland, *Tra.* for Trajecta — the ancient name for Utrecht, *Tran.* for Overijssel, *Gel.* for Gueldre, &c. The name of the province on the present coin cannot be deciphered. On the reverse the figure and letters are still more obscure; the figure cannot be traced at all, and but few of the letters; the coin must have been very much worn before it was dropped. The date "1655" is pretty well preserved, and the following letters can be read, IDEN. UNO ON. The motto on the perfect coin is "*Confiden. Uno Non Move-tur,*" which freely translated is, "If each one is true, the union will not be disturbed;" and like our motto "*E Plu-*

ribus Unum," has reference to the union of the provinces. The same motto is on the coin of each province. The coin is hammered, not milled.

That part of the town in which this piece was found is less than a quarter of a mile from the locality of the one last described. The tract had not been cultivated, had been formerly overgrown with woods and bushes, and could have been frequented in early times, when the coin found a resting place, only by hunters, wood cutters, or warriors. The Dutch coin was probably brought over by Frenchmen, and may have been lost when the French and Indians invaded the town in 1689; they certainly passed over that hill; or it may have been dropped by some Huguenot as he roamed over that part of the town previous to the Indian war. What man will be so bold as to say that the double guilder of 1655 did not once adorn the pocket of Peter Bowdoin, or his son-in-law, Stephen Boutineau, or Philip le Bretton, or did not pass from the hand of some French priest to that of his Indian convert, to repose for one hundred and fifty years, through periods of bitter conflict, of change of empires, and revolutions, to arise in a new and more hopeful republic than that in which it first came into being?

AMERICAN COINAGE.

The notice that was taken of the discovery of these two pieces, at the time, led to the disclosure of other valuable coins in the hands of our citizens: among which were the "pine tree shilling" and "pine tree threepence" of Massachusetts, and the "Washington cent." The history of this cent is rather curious: the managers of the mint, in 1783, which was not then a national institution, but under the management of the Board of Treasury, out of compliment to Washington, and without authority of law, struck off

a quantity of cents with the head of Washington, wreathed in laurel, stamped upon them. Around the head were the words "Washington and Independence," underneath, the date, "1783." On the reverse, in the field "One Cent," surrounded by a wreath, and around the margin, "United States of America." This greatly offended the modesty of Washington, and by his intervention the issue was immediately suppressed. It is against both the genius and practice of republican governments to place the effigy of the political chief upon their coins. A few of these, however, escaped into circulation, but are now extremely rare, and are greedily sought after by curious collectors.

Prior to the mint system under the present constitution, there was no national establishment in which coins were struck by the United States. Copper coins had been furnished under a contract of the Treasury Board, and were issued in several States, as New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont; no gold or silver having been coined. In 1782 Congress approved of the establishment of a mint; in 1786 an ordinance passed for the purpose of establishing one, and regulating the alloy and value of coin. But nothing effectual was done until the constitution went into operation. The coinage of silver at the mint commenced in 1794, and of gold in 1795.

The pine tree shilling and threepence are, if possible more rare. In the early settlement of the colonies, the metallic currency was chiefly of British and Spanish coinage, and was so scarce that exchanges were made, as in times anterior to the invention of coin, in various other articles, as wampum, beads, shells, skins, tobacco, corn, &c. At length Massachusetts, in 1652, established a mint for the coinage of silver, to meet the necessities of the colony, without the sanction of the home government. They issued shillings, six and threepences, of irregular shape

and rudely stamped, which continued for nearly thirty years, until it was prohibited by the government in England. These coins, on one side have a coarse impression of a pine tree, which gave them their name, with the inscription, "In Masachusetts;" on the other side, in the center, is "1652," and around the border the words "An. Do. New England." They all bear one date, although coined in different years. The mint value of the shillings is sixteen cents and two-thirds, the parts in proportion.

COIN DISCOVERED AT RICHMOND'S ISLAND.

But the most remarkable discovery of coin which has taken place among us, was made on the eleventh of May, 1855, at Richmond's Island. The impression has prevailed, with more or less intensity, for two hundred years, that money is concealed upon the islands on our coast, left there by pirates who in former years frequented our seas. It cannot be denied that this recent discovery has given new force to these rumors, and deepened to conviction the vague impressions which had almost lost their hold upon the imaginations of visionary men.

Richmond's Island lies off the southern shore of Cape Elizabeth, the nearest point half a mile distant. It is about a mile long and three quarters of a mile wide at the broadest part, and contains a little more than two hundred acres.

The first settlement made upon this island of which we have any account, was by Walter Bagnall, in 1628; he carried on a profitable trade with the Indians, and was killed by them for his extortion, Oct. 3, 1631. Winthrop, in his journal, says he accumulated a large property, four hundred pounds, by his traffic. Bagnall occupied without title. On Dec. 1, 1631, the council of Plymouth granted the island and the whole southern part of Cape Elizabeth, from Cam-

mock's patent of Black Point to Casco Bay, to Robert Trelawny and Moses Goodyear, merchants of Plymouth, England, and sent the patent over to John Winter, their agent, who was one of the adventurers, to the extent of one-tenth, to establish a trading house, and conduct the operations of the plantation. Winter took possession of the grant at once, and entered upon a large business. He built a ship there immediately, probably the bark Richmond, of thirty tons, and sent to Europe, lumber, fish, furs, oil, &c., and received in return, wines, liquors, guns, ammunition, and articles necessary for the Indian trade, and to sustain the colony. Several ships were employed in the trade; the names of some of them were the Agnes, Richmond, Hercules, and Margery. In 1635, a ship of eighty tons, and a pinnace of ten tons arrived at the island. In 1638, Winter had sixty men employed there in the fishing business, and the same year Trelawny sent a ship of three hundred tons laden with wine and spirits to the island. In 1639, Winter sent home in the bark Richmond, six thousand pipe staves, valued at eight pounds, six shillings a thousand. The place was, for twelve years — from 1633 to 1645, the latter being the year of Winter's death — one of the most important for its trade upon this coast. An Episcopal Church was established there, over which Richard Gibson, an educated man, presided from 1637 to 1640, when he was succeeded by Rev. Robert Jordan. Jordan married Winter's only daughter, inherited his estate, and is the ancestor of the numerous race which bears his name throughout this State and far beyond.

Trelawny, the principal patentee, died in 1644, and Winter in 1645; from that time the plantation declined; its trading operations were abandoned, and probably the island itself; for Jordan established himself on the mainland, near the mouth of the Spurwink river, and there were no persons remaining to sustain its commercial character.

Having given this general historical view, we will proceed to describe the deposit, and its particular location.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COIN.

The oldest of the coin is silver, of the reign of Elizabeth, of which there are four one-shilling pieces, sixteen sixpences, one groat or four-penny piece, and two half groats. All these pieces, as was the case with the whole silver coinage of Elizabeth, bear the same effigy, title, and motto. They are as follows: On the face is the head of the Queen crowned; the rose — an old emblem — behind it; around it her title, "ELIZABETH D:G. ANG:FR:ET:HIB:REGL.," that is, "Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland." On the reverse are the arms of England, France, and Ireland, quartered on a shield, traversed by a cross, around which is the motto: "POSUI DEV. ADIVTOREM MEV.," i. e., "*Posui Deum Adju-torem Meum* — I have made God my helper." This motto was first adopted by Edward III., and continued to be used till the time of Charles I. On some of the coin, the title and motto are abridged. The shillings have no date, but all the sixpences and some of the smaller pieces have the date of coinage over the shield, and on the present collection it extends from 1564, the seventh year of the reign of Elizabeth, to 1593. In her reign both the date and milling the coin were first introduced, but neither was uniformly followed by her or by her immediate successors. The shillings of this and the two subsequent reigns are of uniform size, and their weight and value nearly correspond with those of the Spanish quarter dollar, but they are broader and thinner.

Of the reign of James I., there are four one-shilling pieces, and one sixpence; the shillings are not dated, the

sixpence bears date 1606, the fourth year of his reign. The title, motto, and bust on the three pieces are the same; on the face is the head of the king crowned, behind it, on the shilling pieces are the figures XII., and on the sixpence VI., to indicate their current value. Around on the outside of the head is the title, "IACOBVS D: G. MAG: BRI: FR: ET HIB: REX," that is, "Jacobus, Dei Gratiâ Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, — James, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland." On the reverse is a plain shield, without the cross, on which are quartered the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, around it is the legend or motto "*Quæ Deus conjunxit nemo separet* — What God hath joined let no man put asunder," referring to the union of the English and Scotch crowns.¹ On the first coinage in this reign, the title was "Jacobus, D. G. Anglæ, Scotiæ, Fr., et Hib. rex," in the second the words "*Mag. Brit.*, Great Britain" were substituted for England and Scotland. The change took place in 1604, when he assumed the style of King of Great Britain. The shilling pieces in this collection were coined before June, 1605, as is indicated by the lily, which was the mint-mark down to that time. The sixpence has the escallop shell, which was the mint-mark from July, 1606, to June, 1607.

Of the reign of Charles I., there are but one shilling and one sixpence. On their face, they bear the impression of the king's bust, crowned; behind the head, the figures indicating the value, XII., on the shilling, and VI., on the sixpence. The sixpence is dated 1625, the first year of the

¹ This motto James borrowed, with a slight change, from the beautiful crown which his mother Mary caused to be coined in honor of her marriage with Henry, Lord Darnley, which took place in 1561. It had their busts upon it, and the legend "*Quos Deus conjunxit, homo not separet.*" James varied it so as to apply to crowns instead of persons.

reign; the shilling has no date. For this singular fact, that in all cases in the three reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., only the smaller pieces are dated, we cannot account. The title is "*Carolus D. G. Mag. Br. Fr. et Hi. Rex*," i. e., "Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland." On the reverse are the Union Arms, quartered as in the preceding reign; but on the shilling the shield is traversed by a cross, its four arms extending to the circumference. The motto is a new one adopted by Charles, "*Christo auspice regno*;" "I reign under the auspices of Christ."

GOLD COINS.

The number of gold coins in the collection is twenty-one: of which ten are sovereigns or units of the reign of James I., and of the value of twenty shillings; three are half sovereigns or double crowns, of the value of ten shillings each; seven are sovereigns of the reign of Charles I.; and one is a Scottish coin of the last year of the reign of James, as king of Scotland only. This is the oldest in the collection of gold coins, and is dated 1602, and of the size and value of the half sovereign or double crown. On one side of the piece are a sword and scepter, crossed at an acute angle; between the points at the top is a crown; opposite, on the under part, between the hilt of the sword and the handle of the scepter is the date 1602; on each side is the national emblem, the thistle; the motto around these emblems is "*Salus Populi Suprema Lex*," i. e., "The safety of the people is the supreme law." On the other side is a lion rampant on a shield; a rose over the crown, and around it the title "*IACOBVS 6, D. G. R. SCOTORVM*," that is 'James VI., by the Grace of God King of the Scots.' This is a beautiful coin, and in a fine state of preservation.

The sovereigns and crowns are subsequent to his accession to the English throne; two of them are of the description which the king denominated *units*, from their being the first issued under the United Crowns. On their face they represent the king in armor, crowned, and holding the globe and scepter, around which is the title, "*Jacobus D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. et Hib. Rex.*" On the reverse is a shield, with the arms of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, quartered and surmounted by the crown. On one side of the shield is the letter I., on the other, R., which I suppose stand for *Jacobus Rex*. The motto is "*Faciam eos in Gentem Unam* — I will make them one nation;" hence the name *units* or *united*. The mint-stamp is an escallop shell, indicating its coinage to be prior to June, 1607.

The other eight of the sovereigns are *units*, and a later coinage; having the king's head crowned with laurels in the Roman style, for the first time on English coins; they have the same title or motto as those last described. Behind the head are the figures XX., designating their value, twenty shillings. These were called *laurels*, from the laurel wreath on the head.

The crowns have an impression similar to that on the sovereigns first described, except that the motto on the reverse is different, viz: "*Henricus Rosas, Regna Jacobus,*" the meaning of which is probably this, that Henry, meaning Henry VII., united the roses, James united the kingdoms; not the only instance of vanity which this pedant king exhibited. These have also the letters I. R. on the sides of the shield. The gold coinage of James I. consists of rose rials, of thirty shillings' value; spur rials, fifteen shillings; units, twenty shillings; angels and crowns, ten shillings; and half crowns, five shillings.

The last of the series of gold coins are seven of the reign of Charles I., all of the denomination of sovereigns or units,

and of the same coinage. They represent the head of the king, crowned and youthful, with a double ruff round his neck, and a robe over his shoulders; the figures XX. behind his head, and the title "*Carolus D. G. Mag. Br. Fr. et Hib. Rex.*" On the reverse a new motto is introduced, — "*Florent Concordiâ Regna,*" i. e., "Nations flourish by peace," in the center the national arms, quartered as usual on a shield, surmounted by a crown.

None of the gold coins have dates, and all the coins, both silver and gold, are much thinner and broader than modern coin of similar value. The impressions are clear and distinct, especially upon the gold coins, which are less worn than the silver, and nearly as bright as when issued.

THE RING.

The ring is a wedding signet ring of fine gold, weighing eight pennyweights and four grains. The signet is oval, six-eighths of an inch by five-eighths in size. On the outer side of the surface is an ornamental border, in the center the letters G. V.; a cord passes between the initials, with a tie at the top and a love knot at the bottom. Inside is engraved the word "United," then the figure of two united hearts, and the words "Death only Partes." The workmanship is remarkably good, the letters well-formed and sharply cut. The initials probably represent the parties whose hearts are united on the ring, but who they were we are at a loss even to conjecture.

LOCATION.

The coins and ring were found in a stone pot of common manufacture, and a beautiful globular shape, resembling a globe lantern. The pot would probably contain a quart, and was found about a foot below the surface, on a slope of

land gradually descending from the summit in the center of the island, northwesterly to the shore. The spot is about four rods from the bank, which is there elevated fifteen or twenty feet above the beach. There are traces of the foundation of buildings about the place; stone from the beach were turned up in plowing; in one place are apparently the foundations of a chimney, and near was a cavity which had probably been a cellar. The place had not been plowed within the memory of the present generation, if it ever had, until it was broken up last year. This year the plowing was deeper. Mr. Hanscom, the tenant of Dr. Cummings, was holding the plow, and his son, twelve years old, was driving. When the boy came to the place, he observed the pot, bottom up, and picking it up, said to his father, "I have found it," in allusion to rumors and frequent conversations among the people in the vicinity, relative to money having been formerly buried on the island. His father took it and said, "It is a broken rum-jug of the old settlers, throw it over the bank." On second thought, he told him to lay it one side on a pile of stones. On turning it up, all that could be seen was earth caked inside. Another small son of Mr. Hanscom was sitting on the pile of stones where the pot was laid, who began to pick the earth in sport. He soon came to the coin, and their astonishment and excitement may easily be conceived. The contents were regularly arranged on the bottom of the jar; the gold on the edge at one side, the silver on the other, and the ring in the middle.

The whole number of gold pieces was twenty-one, of silver of various sizes, thirty-one; total standard value, one hundred dollars. The silver was considerably discolored; the gold very little. Part of the fracture of the pot appeared fresh, as though caused by the recent plowing; the rest was of an earlier date, and made, it is conjectured, by

the plowing of the previous year. But it is probable from appearances, and from the pieces to complete the jar not being found, that it was a broken vessel when the coin was placed in it. A piece of lead which had been bent to adapt it to some object was found near; but from the circumstance that the pot was filled with hard earth, it is probable that it was not covered, or that the cover had got misplaced. Mr. Hanscom and two other men immediately spaded the earth in the vicinity of the spot, but no more coin or any other valuable thing was found. Some broken pottery, pipes, an iron spoon, piece of a large, thick, green glass bottle, charcoal, rusty nails and spikes, were scattered about, which the plow had turned up. A building had evidently stood there or near by, but without a cellar.

The question most eagerly asked, and the most difficult to answer, is, "How came the treasure there?" No satisfactory answer can be given; we can only approach the answer by conjecture. I have no doubt that the deposit is a solitary case, and can afford no encouragement to the idle rumors that have long prevailed, that large sums of money were many years ago buried on the island. The probability is that the deposit was made by some inhabitant of the island, or some transient person, for security; and that he either suddenly died, or was driven from the island, or killed by the Indians. That the money found was all that was deposited, there seems no reason to doubt.

My conjecture is, that the deposit was made as early as the death of Winter, which took place in 1645, and I go still farther and express the belief that the money is connected with the fate of Walter Bagnall, who was killed by the Sagamore Squidraset and his company, Oct. 3d, 1631. Bagnall had one companion with him, a servant or assistant, whom Winthrop calls John P——, the blank we cannot supply. He had accumulated a large estate by trading.

Winthrop calls him a wicked fellow, and the Indians were exasperated by his hard usage of them. The principal part of the silver is of the reign of Elizabeth, only five pieces were of James, and two of Charles; and the date shows one of them to have been coined in 1625. Of the gold, only seven out of the twenty-one pieces were of the time of Charles, and as these must have been coined before the breaking out of the civil war in 1642, they may have been before 1631. The coinage after the civil war commenced was of different patterns, and of much coarser execution than that issued before. That the deposit must have had an early date,—before the commencement of the civil war—is evident from the fact that it contains not a piece of coin of a later date than 1642. In 1632, the expedition fitted out at Boston and Piscataqua to pursue Dixy Bull, a pirate who had ravaged Pemaquid, and plundered vessels,—on their return, stopped at Richmond's Island, and hung up Black Will, an Indian, who had been concerned in the murder of Bagnall.

Now my solution is that this coin was Bagnall's, concealed by his servant, or by some of the Indians, perhaps Black Will, and that it has lain there ever since. In regard to the ring, it probably had no connection with any of those parties, but may have been received by Bagnall from some of the rovers on the coast, or other person who came dishonestly by it, and placed by him with his other treasures.

That the articles were hidden before the Indian War of 1675 is manifest from the absence of any coin of a date thirty years prior to that event, and from the fact that the island had been deserted for many years before the war, by all persons who had money to conceal. Jordan himself, the head and leader of the whole region, lived on the main land near the mouth of Spurwink river, where his house was burnt by the Indians, in the autumn of 1675, with all its

contents, and he barely escaped with his life. The treasure, therefore, is not connected with the Indian war, but its history must be sought in prior events.

HISTORY OF COINS AND COINAGE.

A few remarks upon the general subject of coinage may not be an inappropriate close to this article. The origin of the word coin is not agreed upon by medalists; some derive it from the French word *coin*, meaning corner, from the shape of the earliest coins, which were square; others derive it from the Greek word *koinos*, common; and some from the Arabic *kauna*, to hammer or stamp. There is no certainty on the subject; the word, like many others in common use, may owe its birth to slight circumstances so remote and obscure as to be wholly lost, like the names of many *pieces* of coin. The Lydians are said to have been the first nation which adopted a metallic currency. Lycurgus, it is well known, ordered that *iron* only should be used for money in Sparta. The first money coined in Greece was in the island of Ægina, by Phidon, King of Argos, about 880, B. C. And this was merely a lump of silver stamped with a sea tortoise, and was really but a piece of sealed metal, the figure being a public stamp to give assurance of its weight and standard. Among the Jews we do not find that any coined money was used until the time of the Maccabees; before, their money was "pieces of silver," of certain weight, as shekels, talents, drachmas. Silver was not coined at Rome until about the four hundred and eightieth year of the city, and gold not until the six hundred and fortieth. Among the ancients, the Greek coinage was the most beautiful, that of Philip and Alexander of Macedon exceeding all others, except that of Sicily, Græcia Magna, and some of Asia Minor. The coins of Al-

exander are said to have been wonderful; the head of Minerva on his gold, affording a variety of exquisite faces. The earliest coins were without any impression upon them; those of the Kings of Macedon are the most ancient on which portraits are found, and these always exhibit the side face. Plutarch says that Theseus, of Athens, caused money to be impressed with the figure of an ox; the weight of the coin was two drachmæ, that being the price of an ox. Various emblems were early adopted having significance to facts or persons; helmets were common impressions, a lion's skin, a wing; goat's horns were used by Pyrrhus as a crest over the helmet, a gnat being the symbol of Macedon. On Roman coins, before Christ, the reverse bore the prow of a ship, a ear, or other like emblems; figures of their deities were also common, and of animals; from which last it is said that the name "pecunia," the Latin word for *money*, was derived, signifying originally a sheep; a coin in common circulation having the figure of that animal.

The derivation of the word money is not equally clear; it has been variously derived from the Danish word *Maa-ne*, sounded in English, mohney, which signifies the moon, from the resemblance of the fresh silver coin. Others derive it from the Saxon *mynet*, Swedish *mynt*, Danish *myndt*, signifying mint; money and mint being the same word varied. There is much bearing on this subject in the books, into which I do not intend to go, but come to the coinage of more modern times.

Modern coins, as distinguished from ancient, comprehend those which have been struck since the time of Charlemagne, at the commencement of the ninth century; and from that time for nearly seven hundred years, the coin was generally rudely made and without date or epochs, and the portraits and impressions rough and uncouth. The reverse generally bore a cross, extending across the field with three pellets or dots in each quarter.

Florence surpassed all the cities of Italy in the beauty of its coinage, and was the first to revive the publication of gold coins. This took place in the year 1252, by the issue of the famous coins called *florins* from the flower of the lily upon them; and being the first struck in Europe, after the eighth century, they were speedily imitated by the Popes, France, and England. The impression upon them was, on one side, St. John the Baptist, standing; on the other, a large lily, and the word "Florentia;" and they were worth twelve shillings.

COIN AND COINAGE OF ENGLAND.

The first gold piece coined in England was a *gold penny*, struck by order of Henry III. about 1257, only two specimens of which have come down to the present day; it was worth twenty pence, and was nearly of the weight of a seven shilling piece of the present time. The next gold coin was the *florin*, struck by Edward III. in 1344, worth six shillings, now nineteen shillings. The florin was followed by the *noble*, of the value of six shillings eight pence, coined of very pure gold; it took its name from the nobility of the metal, and being stamped with a *rose*, was called the rose noble; it is a beautiful and rare coin. The rose, in various forms, was continued on the coin to the time of James I. These coins, with their parts, were the only gold in circulation until 1465, when Edward IV. struck a piece of the same value as the noble, but being stamped with the Angel Michael, was thence called an *angel*. Henry VI. introduced the *rial* or *royal* of the value of ten shillings; and these, with their parts, continued to be the only gold coin until Henry VII. coined the double royal or sovereigns of twenty shillings, and double sovereigns of forty shillings.

As Edward III. introduced the rose upon the gold coin which was transmitted for two hundred and sixty years, so also did he the motto, "Posui Deum Adjutorem meum," "I have made God my helper," which had the same duration, having been adopted by all his successors to the union of the two crowns in James I. Henry VIII., in 1527, added the gold crown and half crown, of the respective value of ten and five shillings, and made some change in the relative value of the other gold coinage, and greatly debased both the silver and gold. The crown was about the size of an English shilling. Elizabeth restored the standard of value, and the coins continued with slight variations, until an essential change took place in the mode of coinage, and the character of the pieces, in the time of Charles II. He introduced the *guinea* in 1663, so called from its being coined of gold from the coast of Guinea, and was of the value of twenty shillings, but circulated at twenty-one shillings. It was, of the standard of the present time, twenty-two carats fine and two alloy; he also issued double and five guinea pieces and half guineas.

The value of gold in England compared with silver was as eleven to one, from the time of the Saxons to the discovery of America; in the reign of Elizabeth it was thirteen to one; it afterwards returned to its former proportion. The annual product of the precious metals has increased enormously in the last three hundred and fifty years. In 1500 the whole annual product was but three million dollars; in 1600, eleven million; in 1700, twenty-three million; in 1800, fifty-two and a half million; in 1853, two hundred and ninety-five million. The product of gold having increased recently much faster than silver, has materially changed their relative value, and their united very large amount has advanced the comparative prices of labor, and the necessaries of life. That is, the metallic currency being

more abundant, it requires a greater quantity to purchase the same articles than it did when their quantity was more limited.

The proportion of pure silver in the standard coinage was fixed, in the time of Richard I., by certain persons from the eastern part of Germany, called *easterlings*, from which the term *sterling* is derived; which was applied first to the silver penny, *the only coin* then in use, but which was afterwards extended to all the lawful money of Great Britain, and means the money of the mint standard. Sixty-two shillings was established by Elizabeth as the standard value of one pound of standard silver, and so continues. The standard is thirty-seven parts pure silver and three alloy; i. e., eleven ounces two pennyweights pure, and eighteen pennyweights alloy.

Coin was made in England, to the time of Charles II., by the hammer; the silver and gold pieces were thin and broad. The metal was cast into bars, which were reduced to the proper thickness, and then cut into squares of equal weight. These were rounded by heating and hammering, they were then stamped with the figures by the hammer and punch. This process continued until 1662, when the mill was introduced, and became a permanent institution, greatly improving the appearance of the coin. Elizabeth, as early as 1562, had milled some of her coin, but the process was so expensive that she discontinued it, after ten years' trial, for the old mode.

All the coin discovered at Richmond's Island, the Elizabeth sixpence from Mr. Fessenden's garden, the pine tree shilling, and the Dutch guilder, were coined by the hammer and punch.

ARTICLE VII.

MEMOIR

OF THE

REV. JOHN MURRAY,

FIRST MINISTER OF THE CHURCH IN BOOTHBAY,

BY

REV. A. G. VERMILYE,

OF NEWBURYPORT, MASS.

REV. JOHN MURRAY.

FROM its first settlement, about 1630, till 1766, the township of Boothbay appears to have had neither church nor minister; although in 1674, when the county of Devonshire was established, this was one of the principal plantations. The land, however, was not bought of the Indian sagamore till 1666; and in 1686, during the second Indian war, the place was overrun by the savages, and lay waste for forty years. In 1737, the then proprietor made a grant of lands to sundry people dwelling there, and at the same time a generous provision for the support of the ministry. Ten acres were reserved for a meeting house, training field, and burying-ground. And he ordered that the first settled minister should have an equal share in the meadows with the first settlers, and that one hundred acres should be laid out as a free gift to the first minister, and another hundred acres for the use of the ministry forever. He also allowed the inhabitants to deduct, out of the sales of the land, one hundred pounds towards building a meeting house, and thirty pounds per annum towards paying the first settled minister. Still, for some reason, nearly thirty years elapsed before a meeting house was built or a minister obtained, although Rev. Robert Dunlap resided there awhile, previous to his settlement at Brunswick. The people of Boothbay,

— then Townshend,¹— many of whom were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, seem not themselves to have been entirely responsible for it. Applications were at various times made by them to the Presbytery of Boston for supplies; but all were treated (say the session records) “with utter neglect,” probably because the Presbytery had no supplies to send. So many and so urgent, indeed, were the “supplications” of feeble and destitute congregations for preachers, and so desirous the Presbytery of meeting the want, that they sometimes erred in receiving too hastily men of doubtful repute, who proved in the end “troublers,” and whose censurable conduct in some places seriously damaged the interests and credit of Presbyterianism. Such a man was the Rev. Alexander Boyd of Newcastle in Maine; who was sentenced by them to be “sharply rebuked,” but was at length ordained; the reason assigned being “the urgent necessity of the destitute places.”

Dispirited by long and fruitless attempts, and seeing now “no hope of any settlement of the gospel at Boothbay, the people sat down in inaction and despondency,” — we again quote the session records of the church, — but in the midst of this gloomy prospect, their minds were relieved by the arrival, in 1763, of Mr. John Murray, a probationer from Ireland; who had been drawn thither by repeated invitations from one of the principal settlers of the place. This was Andrew Reed, Esq., formerly of Mr. Murray’s native town, and his uncle by marriage.

¹ There being another Townsend in the State, the inhabitants petitioned General Court for a change of name, and their agent was asked, “What name will you have, — what is there peculiar in your location or harbor?” “Why,” said he, “it is as snug as a *booth*.” “Well, has it any bay?” “Yes, a fine bay.” So they called it Boothbay.

REV. JOHN MURRAY.

We shall now sketch the history of this eloquent divine, subsequently the subject of so much public discussion and bitterness, and endeavor to do what we think justice to his memory. Mr. Murray was born in the county of Antrim, in Ireland, May 22, 1742. At a very early age, owing to his unusual proficiency in his studies, he was entered at the university of Edinburgh, where he graduated with high honor. He united with the church in his native town when fifteen, and commenced the ministry when only eighteen. Many troubles, involving an imputation upon his integrity, dated from this period, and concerned his licensure; a matter to be referred to in another place. When hardly twenty-one he came to New York, and thence to Boothbay. Dec. 22, 1763, the inhabitants assembled at the house of A. M. Beath, Esq., and unanimously voted to call Mr. Murray to be the stated pastor of the town; and five individuals at the same time obligated themselves to pay him an annual salary of ninety pounds sterling. He had resolved, however, to return to Ireland; and accordingly, notwithstanding the earnest importunities of the people, took his leave of them in the February following, 1764, but with the promise that if he ever returned to America, and their call was renewed, he would settle with them. For two years longer, they remained without a minister: Mr. Murray had, meantime, by a change of purpose, been received under the care of the Presbytery of New York; and subsequently, in May, 1765, ordained and settled as Gilbert Tennent's successor, in the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. After his settlement there, the people of Boothbay claimed his promise; but as he had heard nothing from them during his residence in New York, he replied that he had considered himself absolved from it. But in January, 1766, he again returned to

Boston, and the inhabitants of Boothbay now determined to push their call to a final result. For this purpose Andrew McFarland and Andrew Reed, Esqs., were sent as commissioners to the synod of New York and Philadelphia, and John Beath (afterwards a ruling elder in the church) was sent express to Boston to manage the matter there. Some difficulties interposed: the church in Philadelphia, notwithstanding the rumors circulated against his character, were very loth to give him up; and it was only after reiterated requests to the Presbytery, and the assurance of his determination not to return, that his dismissal was obtained. But finally, they "received the minutes of the First Presbytery of Philadelphia, whereby Mr. Murray was liberated in manner and form, as fully as they desired."

In July he arrived at Boothbay. A full meeting of the town was at once called by the selectmen, and at his desire assembled under the frame of the meeting house then being reared. Before accepting their call, Mr. Murray "opened at large the history of his education and degrees at the university, his licensure to preach, and of certain difficulties which had arisen between him and some ministers in Ireland, respecting a *certificate*, which he expressed great sorrow for attempting to support, after having discovered the error of its authors; begging pardon therefor of God and man. This, together with some censures which had since appeared in the public prints, he related at large; and also read all the minutes of the Presbyteries of New York and Philadelphia respecting him. He then asked the meeting to testify by the usual sign, if any were dissatisfied; and the whole meeting answered in the negative."

LABORS AT BOOTHBAY.

During his brief sojourn at Philadelphia, more had been added to the church than during the whole of Gilbert Ten-

ment's ministry, and but a short time elapsed before an extensive revival commenced at Boothbay, which reached other places also. Notwithstanding the unpromising nature of the field, and the prevailing inattention to religion at his coming, he formed a church there which was probably the largest in the State, and gathered from all the surrounding region; he being at the time the only settled minister east of Woolwich. People would go seven and even ten miles, regularly, on the Sabbath to hear him, returning at night. Mr. Murray was not merely an eloquent orator, but uncommonly active and faithful as a pastor — "a minister," says Williamson, "whose piety was as incense, both at the fireside and the altar." His whole soul was in his work. He went from house to house, examining into the religious state of individuals and families, and pressing upon all the duties of piety. A single extract from his private diary in 1766, after a day spent in visiting, will show the character of his zeal and the feelings with which he labored. "Alas! alas!" he writes, "what shall I say? I now fear the success of my ministry more than ever. O my God, enable me to be found faithful. O pour out thy spirit on these poor families, that they may not forget the promises this day made in thy sight, that thy worship shall be daily, morning and evening, maintained in their houses, and that they will never rest till they have received Christ into all their hearts. O let the convictions we hope begun on two of them be carried deeper and deeper until ended in conversion. Eight unbaptized — all prayerless. Alas! alas!" Not long had he thus to mourn. During the winter the revival commenced, a Presbyterian church was organized, and April 12, 1767, the sacrament was administered for the first time in Boothbay. Immediately after, at the call of several towns, beginning at Squam and Freetown, he visited Pownalborough, Sheepscot, the head of the tide, Walpole, Harrington, and

other places, preaching every day for a fortnight. In Bristol the result was, that the *town* appointed a committee "to take measures to have a church organized on the Westminster confession and Presbyterian rules;" which was done by Mr. Murray in the course of the year. Religion, in those neighborhoods, now became the conversation of all companies. His lodgings were daily crowded, often till after midnight, and sometimes till three o'clock in the morning, with one company after another. And this revival continued during two years; so many being added to the church, that the communion table, which according to custom was spread in the broad isle, had frequently to be extended into the porch and on both wings of the building.

CHARACTER AS A PREACHER.

In manner Mr. Murray was a little pompous, and his style touched the verbose; but his acquirements were extensive, his sermons thoroughly evangelical, solid in matter, often grandly solemn, pathetic, and experimental, and as set forth by his fine voice and appearance, and his energetic action, produced a powerful impression. Many who had heard them both, considered him not inferior to Whitefield. As his sermons were often two or three hours in the delivery, and he held his audience in rapt attention, he must, evidently, have had rare gifts as a preacher. His popularity was exceedingly great. Whenever he passed along through Maine, the churches were thronged. Mr. John McKeen, noticing some years ago that the old church at Brunswick was "shored up," found on inquiry that it was a precaution against accidents from the rush of people when Mr. Murray came along. Worthy Mr. Smith, of Portland, raised "a sad toss" among his people in 1772, by not inviting him to preach; and again in 1787 he writes in his journal, "a great

uproar about Murray's not preaching." In extemporaneous utterance, as a good test of his powers, Mr. Murray was always ready. Judge Hinkley, a descendant of the pilgrims of Plymouth, a disputatious man, one who thought nothing right which lacked the savor of Independency, and a leader in opposition to the Scotch Irish in Brunswick, was one Sabbath in meeting when Mr. Murray occupied the pulpit. Something in the sermon displeased the Judge. Whereupon he stepped into the aisle, and asked the preacher if he "knew in whose presence he stood?" Mr. Murray replied yes, he knew that he stood in the presence of "a judge of the *Inferior Court of Common Pleas*." "Then," answered the Judge, "I will say unto you, as the Lord said unto Elijah, 'What dost thou here,' John Murray?" Mr. Murray immediately repeated Elijah's answer, (1 Ki. xix. 10), and taking it for his text, preached an hour thereon. The difficulty ended, and the congregation were more pleased with him than ever. It is related that one of his early opposers at Newburyport, (where he subsequently settled), gave him a text at the church door as a trial of his qualifications. He laid aside his intended sermon, and discoursed with such ability as disarmed prejudice, and called forth from Rev. Mr. Parsons the extravagant eulogium, that he had not been surpassed since the days of the apostles.

INFLUENCE DURING THE WAR.

The Revolutionary War pressed with severity upon Boothbay and other towns on the seaboard. The operations of the enemy at different times greatly distressed the people, and obliged many of them to remove for a season. Mr. Murray appears to have entered zealously into the sentiments of his adopted country and parishioners. In 1775 he was sent as a delegate from Boothbay (or Townshend)

to the provincial Congress, which met that year at Watertown. He was at one time president *pro tem.* of that body, and also acting secretary, and was also, while a member, chairman of the committee for reporting rules and orders for Congress; and his reports bear evidence of his thorough acquaintance with parliamentary usage. The basis of these reports is still preserved in the rules observed in the Legislature of Massachusetts.¹ So great was his influence over the people around Townshend, and so well known, that Commodore Sir George Collier, who visited the harbor in 1777, with the British ships *Rainbow* and *Hope*, having cause of complaint against the inhabitants, addressed the matter to him, at the same time inviting him politely to come on board his ship. Mr. Murray accordingly went, and was received with civility; and after some further correspondence as the organ of the officers and council, appears to have settled the difficulty. A writer on board the ship describes him as a "cunning, sensible man, who had acquired a wonderful ascendancy over, and had the entire guidance of all the people in the country around Townshend. His house," he says "was on an eminence not far from the water side, and appeared to be a very handsome edifice, with gardens and shrubbery happily disposed around it. Sir George offered him some trifling presents, which he refused for fear of giving jealousy to his fellow rebels."² It was, probably, before this, that the following incident occurred, as related to Dr. McKeen of Topsham, by old Mr. Reed of Boothbay, who witnessed the scene. Early in the war the British cruisers were in the habit of putting into Townshend harbor, and the sailors would frequently go ashore and pilfer from the Whigs or patriots. The people remonstrat-

¹ Hist. of Newburyport, by Mrs. E. Vale Smith.

² Town's "Details," &c.

ed with the officers, but without effect. They then went and got Mr. Murray. Donning his canonicals, — the white wig and gown and bands, — he was carried on board ship, and there talked with so much force and eloquence, that the inhabitants had no further trouble. Mr. Reed likewise said, that “the dignity of his appearance was such, that all the ministers in Maine put together would not equal him; that he was superior in personal knowledge to any other man that ever walked God’s footstool; that if he had not said a word, such was the grandeur of his looks that he would have carried his point; and that the officers were greatly surprised to see such a specimen of dignity coming from the coast of Maine.” With proper abatements for the warmth of personal friendship, Mr. Reed undoubtedly was correct as to the impressiveness of Mr. Murray’s appearance and manner. It was an enthusiasm he inspired.

But civilities were not long extended to him by the British naval officers. When in 1779 another armament descended upon the coast, he was considered so particularly obnoxious, from his active efforts for the defense of the eastward, that a reward of five hundred pounds was offered for his apprehension; and as the British had besides a post in the neighborhood, he was obliged to leave everything and flee elsewhere for shelter. One more incident may be here related, as illustrating both his eloquence and ready zeal for his country. During the war and at a period of peculiar gloom, Newburyport was called upon to furnish a full company, officers and men, for actual service. But the officers and gentlemen to whom the business was entrusted labored day after day in vain. On the fourth day it was moved that Mr. Murray should be invited to address the regiment then under arms. Accordingly, he was escorted to the parade, and thence by the whole regiment to the Presbyterian church. There he pronounced an address so spirited and animating, that his

audience were all attention, and tears fell from many eyes. Soon after the assembly was dismissed, a member of the church stepped forward to take the command, and in two hours the company was filled.¹ On occasion of the public Thanksgiving for peace, (Dec. 11, 1783), he published a most thrilling and able discourse, entitled, "Jerubbaal, or Tyranny's Grove Destroyed, and the Altar of Liberty Finished;" which was considered a wonderful performance at the time, and unlike the printed productions of Whitefield, fully sustains his reputation as a great orator.

REMOVAL TO NEWBURYPORT.

Mr. Murray himself would have been content to live and die in his remote locality. He had married Susan, the eldest daughter of Gen. Lithgow of Phipsburg, an influential family, and had considerable property at Boothbay. Besides, his political troubles and private sorrows led him to court retirement and obscurity. "There," he writes, "I find my comfort, and, I hope, my God; and there I see less danger of being a stumbling block in Zion, the very idea of which to me is worse than death." But much to the annoyance of his parishioners, who had such hard work to get him, several persistent attempts were made to remove him to other spheres, and many long contests were the result in presbytery. With Newburyport his people at length became quite indignant. In 1768, and again in 1769, Rev. Mr. Parsons and his session, of the First Presbyterian Church in Newburyport, sent a request that he should supply their pulpit for some months every year. And from "some inuendoes" in the letters, the Boothbay session began to suspect (no doubt justly) a design of removing their pastor from them entirely. They therefore replied in terms

¹ Miltimore's Funeral Sermon.

of high compliment to them, — “recognizing the reverend and worthy Mr. Jonathan Parsons, his session and congregation, as the patrons and friends of oppressed truth in the worst of times; who had nobly struggled in the cause of God, at Newburyport for many years, through a continual torrent of opposition and persecution; and in the year 1768 dared to stand up, though almost alone, and espouse the cause of a persecuted stranger, whom others had conspired to destroy, whilst all the country stood silent by;” — but they declined anything more than an “exchange” for a number of Sabbaths. In 1773, he received the unusual compliment of a call from the wardens and parish of Green’s Chapel (Episcopal) in Portsmouth, N. H., with the offer of a high salary, — showing in them very advanced, not to say singularly correct ideas, for gentlemen of their persuasion, of what constitutes true apostolic succession! He replied, however, that he was conscientiously a Presbyterian; and that, whilst the revenue they offered did honor to their generosity, of that species of earth called gold he hardly now knew the value, and that it was not beneath the sun that he desired to have his portion.

The Rev. John Morehead of Boston having recently deceased, in 1774 his congregation earnestly besought Mr. Murray; although their late pastor had been his public and decided opponent. The case was delayed till 1776, and then decided adversely. But at the same meeting of presbytery, the congregation at Newburyport urged a “supplication” for his translation to become the colleague of Rev. Mr. Parsons.¹ It was not granted at that time; but subsequently, owing to his constant exposure to capture by the British, his people themselves consented to a temporary removal from them, to any place of safety; they, however,

¹ Mr. Parsons soon after died, aged 71.

added, "with the exception of Newburyport." This proviso the presbytery overruled. He preached there some twenty months, and in June, 1781, was dismissed from Boothbay, and without any farther formality constituted the pastor of that church. His salary was one hundred and fifty pounds, — one hundred pounds "additional" being also voted to him from year to year. For his labors previous to settlement, he received the *apparently* munificent sum of *nine thousand pounds* and house rent.

Mr. Murray preached, after his settlement at Newburyport, not quite twelve years. His congregation was immense for that day, — estimated at two thousand, — and in their attachment to him enthusiastic. Whilst there his zeal and labors were unremitted, although not blessed, as at Boothbay, with revivals. The war greatly affected the state of religion. He had a number of theological students under his care, and assisted many of the young in obtaining an education. Considerate kindness to the young, indeed, marked his Irish heart, and also his wisdom as a teacher. On one occasion, a little fellow in the public school sketched the reverend gentleman on a blank leaf of his Testament, when he should have been thinking of his catechism. Of course, in that day, it was very irreverent to make pictures of the minister, however well done; but Mr. Murray saved him the flogging, and had him placed under the instruction of a portrait painter. In the way of anecdote I will only add here, that another John Murray was at this time gaining some notoriety as a preacher of Universalism. To distinguish the two, his adherents denominated the one as *Salvation*, the other as *Damnation* Murray. Being at an auction in Boston, Mr. Murray gave his name. "What Murray?" said the auctioneer. "Rev. John Murray." "Which Rev. John Murray, *Salvation* or *&c.*?"

Mr. Murray's health at length failed him. A long sick-

ness of two years' duration came upon him. But one marked in the midst of many sorrows, as his previous life had been, by great patience, resignation, and piety. His enemies and his trials had been, and were, many and bitter; but when dying he remarked that they had but increased the frequency of his errands to the throne of grace. The testimony as to his closing hours is that of exalted aspiration and Christian triumph. His steady denial of certain accusations which had pursued him through life, was neither amended nor reversed in that "honest hour." He died at Newburyport, March 13th, 1793, aged 51.

THE CHARGE RELATIVE TO HIS LICENSURE.

Some reference to this is necessary to complete the present sketch of his life, and for information in writing up the history of the churches and ecclesiastical bodies with which he became connected. He was widely charged with having "forged his license;" and his name is recorded in the printed "Extract of Minutes" of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, as a "deposed" minister.

From dissatisfaction with certain ministers of the Presbytery of Ballymena in Ireland, whom he charged — and probably with offensive warmth — with doctrinal defections, he was induced to go to England for licensure; which he obtained from the class of Woollers, at Alnwick, Northumberland. But on his return his credentials were questioned, and he sent the paper to Edinburgh to be attested. A *certificate* was sent back to him, signed by two young friends of his, (ministers), designating themselves untruly "moderator" and "clerk" of presbytery. They afterwards informed him of their misdemeanor in thus counterfeiting an official document; beseeching him, however, not to ruin them, as their prospects were good in the church. And

rather than ruin them, and give his own enemies a triumph, "to which," he writes, "my infernal pride could by no means consent," he defended the paper as genuine. He was then accused of "forging;" but this — whilst confessing repeatedly and with sorrow the above-mentioned offense — he ever strenuously denied. The charge was sent after him to Philadelphia; yet only a few days before he left that city, his presbytery gave him a testimonial, as having "conducted with such meekness and piety as adorn the sacred character, and must endear him to all lovers of religion and virtue." But after his departure, acting on fresh papers from Ballymena, and some allegations besides, never judicially investigated nor proven, although influencing their minds as suspicious, the presbytery, apprehensive that "the honor of religion suffered while he continued in good standing," in June, 1766, suspended, and in April, 1767, deposed him. These proceedings were published in the Massachusetts Gazette of May 12, 1768, as he continued to preach at Boothbay, together with the manifesto of eleven ministers of Boston, publicly withdrawing all fellowship with him; which called forth his "Appeal to the Impartial Public." Mr. Murray and his friends, his church, and afterwards the "Presbytery of the Eastward," of which he became a member, claimed that he had previously been dismissed from all connection with the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and by them recommended to the church at large, and that, therefore, they had no right to depose him. But this that presbytery denied, having only dismissed him from his church, they said, and continued him under their jurisdiction. Still, their proceedings were evidently loose, and would be so considered at this day: he was not present, had no proper citations, no judicial hearing; neither were his alleged crimes and the testimony judicially sifted. They might have sentenced him for contumacy in not appearing, sup-

posing him still a member of the body, and regularly cited, but not for moral turpitude. For these reasons, as well as his humble confessions and devotedness, the Presbytery of the Eastward, in 1771, annulled the censure, and always sustained him as in good and regular standing. But owing to these unhappy difficulties, he encountered bitter prejudice throughout life; and his usefulness was greatly circumscribed. He lived a suspected man. He had warm friends, among whom Rev. Mr. Parsons and the distinguished Rev. Simon Williams of Wyndham, N. H., had carefully examined the whole case. But many pulpits were closed against him, and some of his neighbors at Newburyport would not even speak to him. Dr. Samuel Spring, a man of strong and decided tone, whether for or against, once put his hand behind his back when Mr. Murray offered his; and at a funeral where both officiated, he left the room during Mr. Murray's prayer.¹

Having now, however, the finished record of his life and death before us; and in addition, the decided convictions of Rev. Mr. Parsons, who wrote to England and took special pains to reach the truth—we can, perhaps, judge concerning him more impartially and correctly than did his

¹ Some rhymesters composed and used to sing the following catch:—

“Parson Spring began to fling,
And seemed to be in a hurry;
He could n't stay to hear him pray,
Because 't was Parson Murray.”

Dr. Spring was a Hopkinsian and preached against the doctrine of original sin. Mr. Murray preached some sermons to meet him. Being a man of keenness and wit, he likewise wrote the following on the title page of a book the doctor had published. It was afterwards found in his handwriting:—

“What mortal power, from things unclean,
Can pure productions bring?
Who can command a vital stream,
From an infected *spring*?”

immediate cotemporaries. He was but eighteen when his offense in using the certificate was committed; his life, from the age of twenty-three, was public and unimpeached; and his confessions were public, frequent, and most humble. "Though I was not concerned as an author of that paper," (he writes in 1774) "nor knew I at that time of life any great evil in receiving it when sent to me, as I was very sure its contents were nothing but facts, and its signers had written their real names in the signature; yet in using it as genuine I thereby made their crime my own—I can truly tell you, that the daily views I have had of the multiplied enormities which this occasioned me, all of which, with the unhappy consequences to the church of Christ, have been continually before my eyes, have made me wish my name blotted out of remembrance by all mankind. The Searcher of all hearts does know my agonies of mind on every review; and that but for the application of Gilead's balm, I had perished of my wounds years ago not a few." This unextenuating penitence marked his life; but the forgeries, and the other misdemeanors afterwards alleged against him but never proven, he firmly denied.

Mr. Murray's questionable position as a member of one presbytery, while another held him deposed—there being at that time no General Assembly, and the Presbyterians being independent of each other—prevented harmonious action among the presbyterial bodies in New England. The attempt to consolidate into a "synod" in 1788—90, failed from this cause, and these differences of opinion and feeling deeply injured Presbyterianism and caused it to decline in New England. We here leave this gifted man; the successor of Parsons, and predecessor of the now venerable Dana; and whose great distinction it was, that in the very place of Whitefield's ashes, he rekindled Whitefield's fires.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE EARLY HISTORY
OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
IN THE
DIOCESE OF MAINE.

BY THE

REV. EDWARD BALLARD, A. M.,

RECTOR OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, BRUNSWICK, ME.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN MAINE.

THE early history of the "Protestant Episcopal Church," in that portion of our country now known as the diocese of Maine, records many events of varied interest and value. It affords examples of perseverance against discouragement; of opposition, which might as truly be called by a severer name; in some cases, sadly successful for the hindrance of her progress. Yet as time passed lingering on, her features assumed a more cheerful aspect, and her present prosperity furnishes the assurance of a greater prosperity still in reserve.

After the discovery of New England, its coasts were often visited long before the well known landing on Plymouth Rock. Some vessels came to perfect the discoveries; but more came attracted by the fisheries on its waters, and the peltry of its forests, and therein found a rich inducement to hazard the perils of a voyage to the newly found regions. As early as 1577, in one season three or four hundred fishing vessels came to the Banks of Newfoundland, among which the French and Spanish were more numerous than the Portuguese and English.¹ In process of time

¹ 1 Belknap, Biog. Art. Gilbert, 197. Savalet, an old mariner, had made forty-two voyages to these parts before 1609. Purchas, p. 1640.

these voyages were extended to New England, and the acquaintance with its coast thus acquired, prepared the way for its permanent occupation. Maps or charts, still preserved, were made of the shore line with its islands and the mouths of its rivers; and names were given to the various localities, either derived from the natives, or suggested by the taste of the person interested in the survey.

At the time of these events, and in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the affairs of the English nation had attained an extent of prosperity that animated all departments of its business; and bold and hopeful men were stimulated to turn their efforts to this distant quarter, by the novelty of exploration, and the prospect of a plentiful reward to their enterprise. In the latter part of her reign, a royal patent was granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert,¹ which authorized him to take possession of any countries, "remote and barbarous," not occupied by Christian people, and to ordain laws and ordinances in agreement with the civil institutions of England, and in harmony with "the true Christian faith or religion professed in the Church of England." Failing in his first attempt, the intrepid navigator was successful in his second. He landed on the shores of Newfoundland in 1583, and took formal possession of the territory, extending two hundred leagues in every direction. Acting in the name of his sovereign, he promulgated three principal laws; the first of which established the Church of England in the newly occupied domain, which, by the terms of the grant, embraced all that was then known of North America.²

This impressive fact has a significancy in three interesting relations. It was the first formal religious act in the

¹ 1 Hazard, 24.

² 1 Belknap, Biog. Chron. Detail 37. This action was several years anterior to the claim set up in behalf of Neutral Island.

whole region of the Atlantic coast. It was intended to give a direction to the religious character of its future population; and it affords an important aid in the interpretation of the subsequent grants of a similar nature, in regard to their religious bearing.¹

After the lapse of several years, a voyage of discovery was planned, and placed under the charge of George Weymouth (1605), who landed on the coast of Maine, explored "the most excellent and benefieyall river of Sachadehoc,"² and, on one occasion, had "two" of the Indians "in presence at service, who behaved themselves very civilly, neither laughing nor talking all the time." The attendant circumstances show this to have been a *religious* "service" of the English Church, the first mentioned on the coast of New England, not improbably by a chaplain, and doubtless not the only one on shipboard on this coast, in connection with this enterprise, in which the setting up of crosses, at points deemed proper, was one distinct feature.³

¹ The religious design of these early voyages of occupation, as connected with the Episcopal Church, is also apparent in the narrative of Frobisher's landing on a point north of Labrador, in 1578, five years before Gilbert's act. Here public services were held, the communion administered, and sermons preached during a part of the year, by the Rev. Mr. Wolfall, according to the usages of the Church of England, and were the first "ever known in these quarters." — 3 Hackluyt 74, 91, quoted in Frobisher's Missionary, p. 244, 245.

² Strachey, cap. vii.

³ Rosier, in third series Mass. Hist. Coll. v. viii. p. 139.

[Mark L'Escarbot, a companion of De Mont, and the historian of his first voyage, and of New France, in his account of the settlement upon St. Croix Island in the river of the same name, in 1604, now called Neutral Island, speaks of the erection of a *chapel*, as among the buildings constructed by that colony, and of religious services being performed there. In some accounts he is called the chaplain. As these colonists were *Huguenots*, and earnest for the propagation of their religion, we cannot doubt that they con-

The next attempt at colonizing this portion of our country, then known as Northern Virginia, was made as a sequel to this voyage, under the first charter of James; which was granted, among other purposes, to extend the Christian religion among the natives. As no other form of religion was then recognized, the Church of England was to afford the means of worship and instruction to the settlers, and be the means of enlightening and reclaiming the savages.¹ Under the protection of this charter, with "a true zeal of promulgating God's holy church, by planting Christianity,"² a colony of a hundred and twenty-four persons left Plymouth in England, in June, 1607;³ and sailed for the Kennebec, under the command of George Popham. On their arrival on the coast they came to "a gallant island," as it is quaintly termed in the ancient narrative; which proceeds to record, that on Aug. 7, they came to another island, where "they found a crosse set up;" and on "Aug. 9, Sondag, the chief of both the shippes with the greatest part of all the company landed on the island where the crosse stood, the which they called St. George's Island, and heard a sermon delivered unto them by Mr. Seymour, his preacher, and so returned abourd againe." On the 19th of the same month, "they all went ashoare where they had made choise of their plantation," on the Sachadehoc, "and there they had a sermon delivered unto them by their preacher, and after the

ducted their worship in the usual form of the Reformed Churches in Germany and France. This will deprive the Episcopal Church of the honor of preaching the first sermon and instituting the first Christian worship in New England. This distinction we must claim for the Puritans, although Maine, at least west of the Kennebec, became an Episcopal colony, under its renowned leaders of that denomination, Popham, Gorges, Southampton, &c.] w.

¹ 1 Hazard 57.

² Rosier's Rel. of Weymouth's Voy., 3d Ser. Mass. H. Coll. vol. viii. 153

³ 3 Maine Hist. Coll. 292 (Strachey).

sermon the President's commission was read, with the laws to be observed and kept." "Ri: Seymour preacher" was chosen one of the assistants, and took the oath of office: "and so they returned back againe." On the 4th of October, certain Indians being present,¹ were detained until the next day, "which being Sondaye the President carried them to the place of publike prayers, w^{ch} they were at both morning and evening, attending y^t with great reverence and silence." The record in the journal for the 6th of October states a "fort was trencht and fortified with twelve pieces of ordinaunce, and they built fifty houses therein, besides a church and storehouse."

The valuable testimony of this cotemporaneous journal establishes these following facts:— that the first known act of religious homage on the shores of New England was the erection of a cross, by an earlier navigator, who had respect for that symbol of the Christian faith, and who, by the same testimony, is known to have been Capt. George Weymouth, of England, and a member of the English Church;— that the first religious services, of which any knowledge has been preserved, as having taken place in New England, were performed by the chaplain of this colony;²— that these services were held in accordance with the ritual of the Church of England;— that the minister who celebrated this worship and preached these sermons was a clergyman of that church, deriving his authority for his sacred office from ordination by the hands of a Bishop of the same church; and that these acts were performed at

¹ Rosier intimates the like in the time of Weymouth's voyage, p. 139.

² In Rosier's account of Weymouth's voyage (p. 139) he says, that Weymouth had the Indians "in presence at service, who behaved themselves very civilly, neither laughing nor talking all the time." This would seem to have been a religious service of the English Church. — 3d series, Mass. H. Coll. v. 8.

first on an island, and in the open air, and afterwards continuously in a church near the Kennebec River, on the west side of one of the peninsulas of the coast, in the year 1607,¹ *thirteen years before the landing of the colony on Plymouth Rock*, and sometime before the Puritans left England to reside for a season in Holland.² If the fact of first occupation is conceded to give the right of continued possession, and if chartered privileges add strength to the right, then surely the Episcopal Church may peacefully enter any part of our wide domain.

Much might the early settlers have rejoiced if this happy introduction of the gospel had been followed by permanent results. But the enterprise failed. The intense cold of the first winter, noted as extraordinary in Europe also;³ the absence of all experience in the life of the colonist; no mines discovered, nor hope thereof, which were the chief expected benefits of this plantation; the loss of the greatest part of their buildings and stores by fire; and the many unforeseen hardships of their condition, increased by the death of their President; these troubles, with fears of others, equal or greater, constrained the whole colony, the next year, to embark in a newly arrived ship, and "sett saile for England. And this was the end of that northerne colony uppon the river Sachadehoc."⁴

Twenty-eight years passed away, after this ineffectual attempt to found a colony at the mouth of the Kennebec, before we find a historic notice of any effort to support the institutions of religion in this quarter. The endeavor was then renewed by means of the Episcopal Church, to supply the wants of the first permanent settlers on the coasts

¹ Strachey, *Hist. Travaile*, c. vii.—ix.

² 1608, 6 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 155.

³ Prince, 117.

⁴ Strachey.

of Maine. These pioneers came from the counties of Devonshire and Somersetshire in the south-western part of England,¹ while the far-famed Pilgrims to Plymouth and Massachusetts came from another quarter, in the north of England, as Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire,² "where they bordered nearest together." 'So that this fact, of different starting points for the emigration, shows why the first occupants of Maine were, from the beginning, of a different mode of thinking from the people of the other northern colonies; and the opinion, that the Puritans were the common fathers of all New England, appears to be unfounded. Here, too, we see reason why the first dwellers in our region had but little interest of feeling and action in union with the neighboring colonies, as was afterwards declared by the ambitious aims of the latter, and the ineffectual resistance of the former.

In the spring of 1636, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, under the sanction of a royal grant, established at the settlement at Winter Harbor on the Saco River,³ by the agency of his nephew, the first organized government within the present State of Maine. The rights granted to the patentee of this territory, authorized the establishment of the services of the Church of England, and gave him the power to nominate the ministers to all churches and chapels which might be built in the province.⁴

The Episcopal character of this colony, thus intimated in advance, is inferred also from other recorded facts. It appears in the design with which all the early charters, pat-

¹ 1 Belknap Biog. 364.

² Morton extracts in 1 Hazard, 350. Prince, 99. The two principal towns for their gathering were Gainsboro' and Scrooby. Palfrey, 132, 133, note.

³ Folsom's Saco, 24, 33.

⁴ 1 Hazard, 443. 1 Williamson, 264.

ents, and grants were made, and in the persons to whom the royal favors were dispensed. The Dean of Exeter, Dr. Matthew Suttcliffe,¹ was engaged in the enterprise as one of its friends, which secured his interest because of its religious bearings. In the names and stations of others, we see reasons for the like interest. This is especially manifested in the fact, that when Robert Gorges was commissioned, at an early day, by the council of Plymouth, to be the "General Governor of New England," at the same time the Rev. William Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman, was sent over with authority to superintend the churches.² Though this office proved ineffectual, it nevertheless shows the intention of the patentees in England.

At Saco, one of the first measures was a provision for religious instruction. A subscription (£31 15s) was raised for the support of a sacred teacher. These settlers came to enjoy the customs of their fathers peacefully, in a new land; and therefore they were glad to receive (1636) the Rev. Richard Gibson, an Episcopal clergyman; who, though not taking the name, performed the duties of a missionary in the new settlements on the sea-coast. He could not be a missionary in the strict sense, as he came over about eleven years before any Protestant missionary society had been formed. His first and principal labors were bestowed at Saco, where the first Episcopal church in New England was established with any permanence, and the first of any kind in Maine after the attempt on the Sagadahoc. It also appears that he resided (1637) on Richmond's Island, near Cape Elizabeth. This "was an Episcopal plantation,"³ where was a settlement of enterprising men, who found

¹ 2d charter of Va. 1 Hazard, 60.

² 1 Belknap's Biog., 367.

³ Thornton's Pemaquid, 208, 5 Maine Hist. Coll.

here, for a term of years, a profitable business in connection with the fisheries, and furnished a market for cargoes of goods sent from England every year. The tradition has been preserved, with great probability of its truth, that a church was established on this island. The tradition is confirmed by the fact that in 1648, twelve years after Mr. Gibson's arrival, and in the time of his successor, vessels for the service of the communion, and cushions, were enumerated in an inventory then made of property belonging to this island, with other articles appropriated to the use of the minister.

In extending his labors to the neighboring plantations, he became well known at Portsmouth, N. H., where the church people had "set up common prayer" as early as 1639,¹ and had already organized a parish, with fifty acres of land for a glebe, and a chapel with a dwelling for the minister.² He was elected its first minister in 1640. In this new field of employment, he spent a portion of his time in places outside of his immediate charge. He was bold and decided in the utterance of his opinions, and particularly in regard to the claims of Massachusetts for control beyond her proper limits. A Puritan minister of Dover, by the name of Larkham, provoked a controversy with him by preaching a "sermon against such hirelings," supposed to be aimed at Mr. Gibson, which called forth a severe reply, "wherein," Winthrop says, "he did scandalize our government;" who also adds, that "he, being wholly addicted to the hierarchy and discipline of England, did exercise a ministerial function in the same way, and did marry and baptize at the Isle of Shoals, which found to be within our jurisdiction,"³ wherein the practice of clerical duties had been forbidden to the Episcopal clergy, by the laws of Massachusetts.

¹ 1 Winthrop, 327.

² Belknap's N. H.

³ 2 Winthrop, 66.

For these offenses he was taken into custody; and after several days' confinement in Boston, he was constrained to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the offended government. Being a stranger, and about to depart from the country, where the spirit of persecution still lingered, he was allowed to go without any fine or other punishment. Larkham, his enemy, soon after followed to avoid a punishment for his bad morals.

Mr. Gibson, the first permanent pioneer of the church, was described by those who had no ecclesiastical relations, to give a bias in his favor, as "a good scholar, a popular speaker, and highly esteemed as a gospel minister, by the people of his care."¹ Others have represented him "as a man exceedingly bigoted."² This opinion, when properly understood, may mean no more than his open and distinct avowal of his attachment to the Church of England, of which he was a minister. He liked the prayer book better than any other form of worship, (and doubtless said so,) as well as the order of bishops; and quite as honestly said that New Hampshire ought to have her own government, against the grasping claims of her southern neighbor.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Robert Jordan, who, as it appears from the genealogy of the family, was probably ordained in the diocese of Exeter.³ He came over from England about the year 1640, at the age of twenty-eight, and at the instance of Robert Trelawny, who at that time possessed Richmond's Island. He took charge of the district, which had been occupied for about four years by Mr. Gibson, and thus officiated in the present Scarboro,' Casco, (now Portland) and Saco.⁴

¹ 2. Winthrop, 66. 1 Williamson, 291.

² Greenleaf Conf. Sketches, 223.

³ Hist Mag., 1857, p. 54.

⁴ Hist. Saco, 80.

Here he was a welcome laborer. For the religious condition of the community at this time, east of the Saco, was decidedly, if not exclusively, in favor of the Episcopal form of government and worship. Indeed, it has been asserted by a writer, whose sympathies are not with this church, that "Maine was distinctively Episcopalian, and was intended as a rival to her Puritan neighbors."¹ The charter of Charles I. was designed to perpetuate the same order and usages as existed in the mother country. Even the Plymouth company's charter was based on the hypothesis, that the same church and king were to be obeyed in both countries.²

It was therefore but a natural fear of these inhabitants, that their privileges would be diminished, when they saw the beginning of the encroaching spirit and overbearing action of Massachusetts,³ whose emulous aspirations, arising from a colonization of unexampled energy, had reached even to Pegypscot.⁴ "This wary government, ever watchful of its own interests, had already conceived the idea of pushing its limits into the heart of Maine,"⁵ by the same special pleading as it had already done into New Hampshire.⁶ For this reason the people here began to protect themselves from interruption in their enjoyment of the usages of their church, as they looked for hostile demonstrations against the customs of their fathers. Anxieties were thus awakened, which following events increased, rather than allayed. Many of the early settlers doubtless came over in the mere spirit of adventure. But it would be a stinted measure of

¹ Thornton's Pemaquid, 175. 5 Maine Hist. Coll.

² 2 Anderson Colon. ch. 145.

³ Josselyn in Sullivan, 288.

⁴ 1 Williamson 290. Purchas.

⁵ Hist. Saco, 60.

⁶ 2 Anderson Colon. ch. 142, 147.

charity, which will not allow that in all the families risking their fortunes in the enterprise, there were some persons who cherished the spirit of religion, and attended to its practical duties, as well as its customary forms.¹ The desire to have "a goodly minister," (1641) by the people, finds a place in the records of these times. They renewed the institutions and laws of their native country, designed to promote the moral and religious character of the people. Penalties like those at home were inflicted on profanity, Sabbath-breaking, and other immoralities.² They forgot not the salutary restraints of their fathers. A law was passed for the encouragement of the baptism of children.³ A community strictly English in its character was established on our shores, and continued to exist until changed in its features by the extension of the power and principles, both civil and religious, of the Puritan colonies. This community, of course, preferred the ways of their early education, and had no wish to change them for the usages of the persons who left England that they might avoid the customs of the church and enforce their own decisions. As they increased in numbers and strength, they endeavored to widen the area of their power. The occupancy of this province came within the range of their wishes, and both the civil and religious opinions of the people in this province were arrayed against the effort.⁴

Mr. Jordan was the leader and counselor of the persons who clung to the old ways of their fathers. He and his friends were resolute in purpose, and confident in their view of the right. Sustained by the favoring judgment of his many friends in the community, who were at first the major-

¹ Hist. Scarboro', 153. 3 Maine Hist. Coll.

² 1 Williamson, 367.

³ Gorges in Sullivan, 320.

⁴ Greenleaf, 224. 1 Willis's Portland.

ity, and possessing great influence with them, he encouraged them as long as there was any hope of success, to resist the manifest design of Massachusetts, with a singular but not unusual mixture of religious zeal and worldly policy, to subjugate the colony,¹ as well in its religious as its political relations. In order to have the pretense of right, a new survey of her northern boundary was ordered, beginning at Aquedahatan at the outlet of Lake Winnepisiogee, and terminating on an island in Casco Bay, three miles east of the present Portland.

But his readiness to act, and the prompt aid of his friends, did not ward off the control of the grasping colony. For in 1654² he was committed to prison in Boston. The special reasons for this procedure do not appear. They may have been political. But from subsequent events it is easy to infer that his religious views and practices were both the cause and occasion. Emigrants had come in from that encroaching quarter.³ Some of the people were weary of the contest, and as is usual, some hoped indefinitely for benefits from a change of rulers. Thus in the midst of the agitations that were aimed at the ascendancy, by persuasion, by promised benefits, by military force, and the aid of the new comers, an agreement was made in 1658,⁴ which gave to Massachusetts the authority to rule in the province of Maine.⁵

It was not long before Mr. Jordan's decision of character and ready action exposed him to a new assault. It is on rec-

¹ Sullivan, 323, 324.

² Willis's Portland, 57. Sullivan, 369, says it was 1657; though this might have been a subsequent imprisonment.

³ Willis's Portland, 62.

⁴ Willis's Portland, 59, 60.

⁵ Josselyn considers that the Puritans in Maine asked the submission to Massachusetts. — Sullivan, 70.

ord that he was frequently censured for exercising his ministerial office, in marriages, baptisms, and other acts. In 1660 he was called by summons, from the new and intolerant government to appear before the General Court at Boston, to answer to the charge of baptizing three children in Falmouth, "after the exercise was ended on the Lord's day;" and was required to desist from such practices in future.¹ Five years afterwards his friends complained, in writing to the royal commissioners, that the General Court "did imprison and barbarously use Mr. Jordan for baptizing children." A few years later (1671) a warrant was ordered to be sent out against him, requiring him to present himself at the next court, "to render an account why he presumed to marry Richard Palmer and Grace Bush, contrary to the laws of this jurisdiction;" when there is no evidence that he did anything at variance with the customs of his own church or the laws of England, under whose protection the colony had always been placed.

But the sectarian spirit was strong against him and his friends, and the power of the government gave it support. Sullivan says, "the Episcopalian party dreaded the tyranny of Massachusetts Puritanism."² And the fear was not without cause. For though the second charter of James (1609) declared that all English subjects and their children, in the granted territory, should have and enjoy all the liberties of free citizens, which were guaranteed in any other part of the royal dominions;³ though in the agreement recently made, it had been stipulated in the sixth article, that "*civil*

¹ The baptismal font, brought by Mr. Jordan from England, and used by him in this sacred rite, is still preserved in the family of one of his descendants in Scarborough, where he had his house, and is a vivid remembrancer of the troubles that met him in his walk of duty.

² Hist. Me., 321.

³ 1 Minot, 31.

privileges should not be forfeited for religious differences ;" and though the king of England, on hearing the cries of the oppressed, had given instructions to insure a more liberal treatment; yet the protection of the charter, the terms of the agreement, and the tones of the order, were violated, with a dexterity which gave an apparent obedience, while in effect it evaded the obvious meaning of each provision. This treatment proceeded from a class of persons, who had professedly left England for the American wilderness, to enjoy liberty of conscience, but whose exactions declared, that the liberty could be allowed to others only according to their own rule, in which church and state were united; and whose conduct, in these particulars, was more distinguished for its boldness, than its consistency or its justice.

It was in reference to this spirit and practice, that New England's most accomplished historian had deemed it proper to record, that "base ambition" was mingled with the schemes of church government, which Massachusetts was then devising, and "gave a false direction" to the legislation of her state government; that "the creation of a national uncompromising church led the Congregationalists of that province to the indulgence of the passions which had disgraced their English persecutors, and *Laud was justified by the men he had wronged.*"¹

Therefore, under the influence of this state religion the sufferers found no effectual relief. Their just complaints were heeded abroad, but denied at home. The Episcopalians, in the places where Mr. Jordan was received as their minister, were not likely to be soothed by this treatment, so unlike what Gorges² and his followers had exhibited in this quarter. They waited for the time when they could enjoy their rights and preferences, free from the capricious

¹ 1 Bancroft, 450, 451.

² 1 Williamson, 306.

interference of their rulers. But there was not much room for hope, when the United Colonies of New England had declared, that "no colony, while adhering to the Episcopal church-communion of England, could be admitted to membership."¹

The severe restrictions, however, to which they were called to submit, at length produced a reaction. By a petition to Charles II. (in June, 1664) a royal order was procured, requiring the Massachusetts government to make restitution of the Province of Maine to Ferdinando Gorges, grandson to the first patentee,² or his commissioners, into his or their quiet and peaceable possession. This order was reluctantly and slowly obeyed. For about three years the change was favorable to the wishes of Mr. Jordan and his friends. The power then reverted to Massachusetts, and there remained for a long term of years.

Amid all these fluctuations, Mr. Jordan resided in the present Cape Elizabeth, and extended his ministerial care to Scarborough and the Casco settlement, now Portland, and elsewhere. For thirty-six years he here attended to the employments of preaching, of baptizing, of marrying the living and burying the dead, and the administration of the Lord's Supper, except when he was "silenced" by the ruling power. Complained of himself, he, in turn, with the aid of a leading man in the colony, brought a complaint to the Court, that the Puritan minister of Scarborough "preached *unsound doctrine* to the settlers."³ It is not improbable that this action hastened the measures for his punishment

¹ Williamson, 297, (anno 1644). This enactment was made in that spirit which led a person in high position for literature and theology (the President of Harvard College, 1673) to say, that he "looked on toleration as the mother of all abominations." — 2 do. 277. Sullivan, 314.

² Sir F. Gorges died about 1647. (Hist. Saco, 65).

³ Hist. Scarborough, 154, (anno 1659.)

for baptizing the children of his parishioners in Casco; at a time, too, when there was no minister but himself in the settlement; as indeed there never had been before, except Mr. Gibson, his predecessor, and was not till ten years after the act for which he was punished. So far as history or even tradition speaks, he was the only minister in Portland during the long period of his service;¹ and yet he could not do his ministerial duties without rebuke, and sometimes a separation from his family and imprisonment, to satisfy the demands of the offended powers in another province.

In the Indian war excited by King Philip, he was attacked in his house by the savage enemies. He barely escaped with his family to Great Island, now Newcastle, near Portsmouth, N. H., leaving his dwelling house to be burned with all its contents. In 1677 he was invited by the Governor of New York to settle at Pemaquid, where he had secured the friendship of Giles Elbridge, with whom he harmonized in religious and political sympathies.² But he declined the proposal. Old age had now crept upon him; and he decided to remain in the quiet retreat, which afforded a relief from his vexations, though he had been driven to it by the violence of the common enemy. In the memory of his past troubles and hardships, and his increasing infirmities, he did not return with the people to the resettlement of the desolated town, which began in about three years after the flight. After a residence of four years at Great Island, he died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, (1679), so enfeebled in the use of his hands as to be unable to sign his will.³

¹ Smith's Journal, Appendix, 437. [Rev. George Burroughs preached on the Neck, now Portland, previous to 1676, and was there at the destruction of the town by the Indians, in that year. — W.]

² Thornton's Pemaquid, 259, 230.

³ Willis's Portland. A letter was written to him, from New York, by Gov. Andros, Sept. 15, 1680, after his death. — Pemaquid Papers, 42, 5 Maine Hist. Coll.

The cares of his active and uneasy life were largely increased by his attention to the great property acquired by marriage, and preserved by his prudence for the benefit of his numerous family. On this account his devotion to the proper duties of the ministry was proportionally less; and it was still more diminished by his occupation in the civil affairs of the people, as one of their leaders and magistrates. His enemies were on the alert to find charges against him; but never in relation to his preaching, his doctrine, or his conduct, except in the ritual acts of his sacred office, and his words. Their accusations before the court were grounded on his expressions of hostility to the government whose authority he regarded as encroachment, and the movements he made against its claims. But the charges found little proof, even from the lips of his partisan foes, and before a court composed of judges representing the authority which he had offended. His activity and enterprise, combined with an education much in advance of the people among whom he lived, made him prominent in the doings of those early days. The measures that bore the features of a bigoted, if not revengeful spirit, on the part of his opposers, prompted him to take an attitude which, under kinder treatment, he never would have assumed. The moral state of the colony, through all this period, was deplorably low, and the flame of piety shone with a feeble light. Different individuals strove to improve the people in these relations. But little good could be done among persons who largely depended for their livelihood on hunting and fishing. In an age of little zeal; with no brother in his office in all New England, to counsel and assist him in his solitary labors, and not finding or expecting aid from the sect whose forms and theology were of a different school, the minister had little to encourage him in his toils and trials. We may lament the difficult circumstances in which

the active portion of his life was spent. These vexations gave his faults prominence, when under the favorable condition of the present day they would hardly have been known.

A long term of years now passed away, in which period, Indian wars produced their bloody devastations. In 1690, after the siege of a week, the last fort in Falmouth surrendered to the united forces of the French and Indians. Many of its defenders were killed. Others were carried to Quebec, and the settlement destroyed. Mather truly described the desolation of the sad scene in two words,—“Deserted Casco.” It lay in ruins about sixteen years.

During this interval the religious interests of the people at Pemaquid were not overlooked by the friends of that settlement. In the instructions for that place given in 1683, it is declared to be “requisite for the promoting of piety, that a person be appointed by the commissioners to read prayers and the holy scriptures.”¹ At this time a large portion of the residents had come from New York, under whose government the plantation was placed, and these instructions show the Episcopal character of the people at Pemaquid.

The proof that this purpose was carried out is found in a manuscript petition still preserved, addressed to Gov. Andros, when he stopped at Pemaquid, in April, 1688, on his expedition to Castine. From this it appears that John Gyles, the petitioner, “ever since June last, had read prayers at the garrison, on Wednesdays and Fridays, and had not received anything for it.” He therefore solicited the governor’s aid, and a compensation, that he might continue to officiate as before. These duties to the soldiers appear to have been additional to the regular services on the Lord’s day.²

¹ Pemaquid Papers, 79, 80.

² MS. petition in possession of John McKeen, Esq.

The first notice of the renewal of the services of the church in Falmouth, now Portland, occurs in the journal of the Congregational minister of the place in 1754, seventy-nine years after the departure of Mr. Jordan, a period of more than two generations. Four times had peace been followed by war during this space; and the place was now peopled by a large number of settlers, notwithstanding the former changes and discouragements. At this date, the Rev. Mr. Brockwell, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, attended Governor Shirley as the chaplain of his expedition, to hold a council with the Norridgewock Indians at Falmouth. He preached in the Congregational house in the morning; and it is added quaintly in the journal, "he carried on in the church form." A fortnight after he preached again, and the record reads, "he gave great offense as to his doctrine," which might have been expressive of the views of his own church.

Ten years then elapsed without a record; and then (1764) we find that a large number of persons declared in writing their desire that the new meeting-house about to be erected in Falmouth should be devoted to public worship according to the Church of England. This movement was made by the Church people, and a portion of the Congregationalists who were dissatisfied with the settlement of a colleague to their minister. At this juncture of affairs, the Rev. Mr. Hooper of Trinity Church, Boston, made a visit to the place. He preached, and baptized several children. The congregation at once entered on their plan of operations, with a decision both unexpected and fruitful in results. The accession to their numbers occurred on the twenty-third of July, and on the third of September the corner stone of the first Episcopal church was laid by the wardens, who, with the other officers, had been chosen in the earlier part of the same day. From this beginning there appeared the next

year the finished structure, with tower and bell. In close relation to this prosperity, an event occurred which occasioned great surprise to the community, and added new strength to the part of the church. The Rev. John Wiswall, a graduate of Harvard University, who had been settled (in 1756) over the New Casco Parish, suddenly declared for the Church of England, and immediately accepted a call to be the minister of the collected Churchmen.¹ Many, and indeed the majority of the people uniting in this act, had been attendants on his ministrations; and the church people had previously, as well as now, endeavored to persuade him to the change, which he made without passing through "the usual ecclesiastical formalities."² For a few Sundays he conducted the worship as well as he could, without Episcopal ordination. On the eighth of October he "sailed in the mast ship" for England. He there received authority to administer the ordinances of religion according to the order of the English Church. He returned in May following, and was the first rector of the parish, as a missionary, aided to the amount of twenty pounds per annum, by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. A hundred pounds, lawful money, was voted by his people for his support. At first the persons who had seceded, were required to pay the usual tax to the old society; but after bearing this burden for eight years, and one hundred persons reclaiming against it, a vote of that society was passed, by which the money thus raised was refunded to the parish where the tax justly belonged. The increase of the church is indicated by the amount of this taxation. In 1765 it was forty-three pounds seven shillings

¹ "There is a sad uproar about Wiswall, who has declared for the church." Smith's Journal, 200.

² Greenleaf, 41.

ten pence; in 1774 it was one hundred and nine pounds six shillings nine pence.

The next year after the rector's return, he reported to the society in England, that his congregation had increased to seventy families, who constantly attended worship, with a considerable number of strangers and twenty-one communicants.

It is not purposed to pursue the history of the mission in Portland any further. It would be interesting to describe its progress through its various fluctuations of prosperous and adverse changes, — the destruction of its church by the fire of the British war-ships, followed by the dispersion of the congregation, — its rebuilding twelve years afterwards, when only twenty persons subscribed for a weekly payment to support a clergyman, who was allowed to preach three Sundays in a year at Windham,¹ where some of the members of the church resided; — its incorporation as a parish in 1791, — the exchange of this building for a new brick structure, (1802) and the later improvement and enlargement to accommodate its increasing congregation. Another church has sprung from it as an offshoot, in strong and efficient growth, with its impressive edifice of stone; while both parishes now have a condition of prosperity, in marvelous contrast with the hardships and trials endured by the friends of the church through the chief part of the previous two centuries.

From the settlement on Casco Bay we now turn to the Kennebec.

Efforts had been made by the Romish priest, a missionary to the Indians near the present Augusta, to persuade the settlers at Frankfort on this river, to remove to an abode near to his influence and instruction. As an inducement, he offered each man two hundred acres of land. They refused

¹ Greenleaf, 225.

the solicitation. This movement led to the construction of the forts at Augusta and Winslow.¹

The date of the commencement of the enterprise on this river, carries our thoughts back to the year 1754, when the people at Georgetown, aided by their friends at Frankfort, now Dresden, sent a petition to "The Society for Propagating the Gospel," asking for the services of a missionary. The Rev. Mr. Macclenachan was appointed, with a stipend of fifty pounds from the society. He had already officiated in the first of these places as a Presbyterian minister. He had afterwards received Episcopal ordination in England, and soon after came to supply the wants of these two scattered plantations. He arrived on the Kennebec in the spring of 1756, having been recommended on account of his "uncommon fortitude, and mind cheerfully disposed to undergo the difficulties and dangers of the mission." He went to Fort Richmond,² on the west side of the river, just north of the present village of the same name. This place was the most convenient point from which to prosecute his labors. The building was old and uncomfortable, where the wind, rain, and snow had a free passage. The next year he wrote to the society that he had often preached on common days, as well as on the Lord's day, to an increasing congregation; and lamented that there was no church in either of the places, nor glebe, nor house prepared for his occupancy, as had been promised; and that he had made his dwelling in an old, dismantled fort, where he had been wonderfully preserved from a merciless enemy, to whom he was often exposed; and added that his head, his heart, and his hands were all employed in directing, encouraging, and

¹ 3 Maine H. Coll., 274.

² Fort Frankfort was on the east side of Kennebec River, about a mile and a half above Fort Richmond, and afterwards called Fort Shirley. — 1 Williamson, 51.

fighting for his people.¹ Late in the next year he left the mission. His subsequent career showed, that though he possessed great powers of pulpit oratory, they were not sustained by the solid qualifications of a character suited to his sacred calling.

For a year and a half the shores of the Kennebec were left in their original destitution of the ministrations of the gospel, except in such form as protestants could not adopt. But the people at Frankfort were not inactive. They sought aid again by petition to the society in England, whose "nursing care and protection," for a long period, the churches in this country enjoyed. In response to their wishes, the Rev. Jacob Bailey was appointed to occupy this vacant mission, for which he had been recently ordained in England. after his graduation at Harvard University. The town had now received the name of Pownalborough; but his arduous and long continued care extended through a large territory, containing more than seven thousand inhabitants, in which the majority were extremely poor, very ignorant, and without any means of instruction.

The new missionary arrived in the summer of 1760. Here he toiled with untiring zeal for the welfare of his charge; extending his efforts to Sheepscote, Harpswell, Damariscotta, and Georgetown, where in 1761, the communicants had increased from seventeen to fifty; preaching among people of different languages,² and eight different persuasions; and, amid many discouragements, finding much satisfaction in witnessing the good effects of his efforts on many hearers.

After ten years of pastoral care, he had the happiness to see an edifice reared, thirty-two feet by sixty, including the chancel, and though not completed, rendered serviceable for

¹ Hawkins, 225.

² Hawkins.

public worship in the fall of 1770. Near the beginning of the winter of the next year he moved from Fort Richmond with his family into the parsonage, near his church, where he had "one room very comfortable," but was obliged to board the workmen till another room could be finished.

In his labors applied away from his special care, he preached at Gardiner, where, in two years after his own church was occupied, he saw a church and parsonage erected at the expense of the liberal individual from whom the town has derived its name, and who had generously aided in the similar enterprise at Pownalborough. Amid the discouragements of changing times, and with a growth, sometimes feeble, and finally vigorous, it has found a firm friend in the inheritor of the name of its founder, and has been the helper of almost every parish in the diocese, as well as many others out of it, and the dwelling place of the first resident bishop.

It would occupy a long time to speak of all the work of this "frontier missionary," among the people of his charge, where he found but few inducements for perseverance beyond the labor of love. But it would be interesting to repeat how devotedly he attended to their welfare; how he traveled up and down the river, sometimes to the distance of sixty miles, by water, or on the ice, or through the wilderness, and most often alone, to supply the religious need of the scattered population; how he received little or no salary from the people; how his friends in both towns were compelled by tax to support a worship which they did not like; how he solaced himself with his books and ready pen, and the care of his garden, which he adorned with the taste of skillful cultivation; how the peace of his life was constantly embittered by the false and malicious representations of two persons, of opposite religious sentiments, in official stations, with the addition of the most contemptuous

language and actions; how, under legal advice, he made concessions to them for the sake of securing his church and dwelling from their rapacity; how he continued in his parish duties in the midst of all these difficulties from outside forces, and the various trials of his patience and hope, within his pastoral limits, until he came into the power of the civil excitements connected with the war of the Revolution; how unhappily for his comfort, but honestly for his conscience, he decided to make no change in his allegiance to the ruling powers; how the enemies of his church and king harassed his daily life, already afflicted with the most pinching poverty, amid the heart-rending scenes of the like suffering among many of his parishioners; how he lived on, looking for better times in faith, with a few clams for his breakfast, hoping to find a dinner with some of his better provided parishioners, and disappointed there, had refused an invitation in other places, where the "starving children were staring on him with hollow, piercing eyes, and pale, languid faces;" how he was compelled to flee from his house to escape from the violence of his opposers, and was waylaid near his own house, and muskets fired on other persons in the dark, which were intended to hit or frighten him; how, after enduring these and other like calamities and insults, not for any moral offenses, but for his religious and political opinions, he was glad to receive permission from his adversaries to leave the home and the people to whom, by the associations of nineteen years, he had become affectionately attached; and how, at length, with his wife and little children, cheerless and persecuted, taking a final leave of his once happy home, in the needs and in the garb of extreme penury, dependent on charity, walking several miles to a boat, which was to bear them down the river to the vessel which was to carry them away, and with many a long, lingering look of love for his native country, he went, in the

spirit of a martyr, into a permanent exile, to a land where he knew no persons, except such as, like himself, had fled from troubles, which their honest interpretation of their principles would not allow them to escape in any other way.

We cannot dwell on these and many other severe trials; but we can see, what he could not see, how the seed that he had sown was not lost; how his desolated parish and church, destroyed by ruinous hands, have revived in these last years, and give the hope that they will not again be molested; while other churches have risen around, to prosper under the guidance of a Chief Shepherd who has his home in the hearts of a united people. Could he have foreseen all the present, he might the more willingly, but not the more patiently, have borne his bitter bereavements, in the joy of having an agency in accomplishing these once distant results. He was a pioneer to be long and gratefully remembered. We cannot read the rich pages of his life, prepared by his faithful biographer,¹ without the feeling that the hardships of the present day are but lightness when compared with the weight of his; and we cannot go to the place where his feet once trod the busy path of his varied duties, without yielding a brother's tribute to the memory of JACOB BAILEY.

The people at Georgetown and Harpswell, where for some years he had officiated, and a portion of the time every third Sunday, were supplied with a missionary by the Society in 1768.² He was thus relieved from a portion of distant cares. The Rev. Mr. Wheeler was thus his nearest counselor and aid. But four years afterwards he withdrew from the mission, where the members of his little flock were

¹ "The Frontier Missionary," by Rev. W. S. Bartlet.

² Boothbay at this time had some church people. — Greenleaf, 134.

obliged to pay taxes for the "support of dissenting ministers," and therefore could not be liberal in the maintenance of their own. The whole burden of its wants, therefore, was thrown back upon the person who had borne it patiently and long. An edifice had been erected for religious worship; but, like the congregation that used it, it has passed away, to be revived in times near our own day, in the more prosperous parish in the city of Bath.

Not far from these last dates a church was built in that part of Kittery, now known as Elliot, and fifteen communicants were reported, as belonging to the congregation. The services were continued at intervals for many years, by the minister at Portsmouth, and appear to have ceased at his death in 1773.

And about the same time a small chapel of brick was erected in Prospect, near Fort Pownal, with the promise of an Episcopal minister, under an arrangement with the proprietors of the Waldo grant. But it is not now known that it was ever occupied for this purpose.¹

For a long time after the Revolutionary struggle had happily terminated, in securing our independence, the church in Portland, after its revival, and in Gardiner, where the services had received some interruption, were the only two in the District. At intervals the former was closed, at one time for years, and was apparently dead. But it has passed through all its difficulties successfully. The latter was kept open perseveringly (when the number of persons attending it were included in about *twelve families*, who were all the active friends of the church in the State,) by lay reading, for a number of years, in the absence of a clergyman. It was also regarded as the place where application could be suitably made for assistance, when the services of the church

¹ 2 Williamson, 565. Thurston's Anniversary Discourse, 1859.

were desired elsewhere. Thus about the year 1810, the people at Waldoborough solicited advice from this parish to carry out their wish to secure an Episcopal clergyman to fill the vacancy in the Lutheran pulpit in that town. But those were the days when the ministers of the church were few; and the opportunity for the establishment of a prosperous Episcopal parish was lost, for want of a laborer to occupy the promising field.¹

When the State was again separated from Massachusetts in its civil relations, the ecclesiastical separation from the Eastern Diocese followed soon after. The Convention held its first meeting at Brunswick, several years before the church was organized in that place; and directed its early action to the interests of the missions within its jurisdiction. In 1823 the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society was formed, and made its first effort at Saco in 1827, one hundred and ninety years after Richard Gibson had been the first preacher of the gospel in that part of our country. Other parishes in various parts of the State have since been formed, and are now generally in a prosperous condition. An account of their origin and condition has been published during the past year,² and renders further mention here unnecessary.

This sketch of the early history of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maine is far too brief to do justice to the worthy individuals who gave their time, counsels, labors, prayers, and means for its introduction and support.

These early days of the ecclesiastical history of the province, were the days when European cupidity was stimulated by the marvelous reports, carried out from wild shores by voyagers, to enchant the imaginations of their employers and friends at home. The spirit of adventure

¹ MS. letter, R. H. Gardiner, Esq.

² By R. H. Gardiner, Esq.

was aroused in the hope of speedy affluence. The highest rank in society yielded to its attractions; and the people at large were filled with exciting hopes of sharing the anticipated gains. Hence, during a long period, we see but little of the earnestness of the Christian life, as we wish to see it at the present hour, when we are favored with a settled government, the privileges of peace, brotherly influences, social counsels, saintly examples, and a gratifying prosperity. These pioneers had little to cheer them in these respects; and in their hard circumstances may find a plea against any censure of their deficiencies. If they had been favored with the greater blessings of later days, we may believe a brighter light would have shone upon the history of their times.

ARTICLE IX.

THE ABNAKI INDIANS.

COMMUNICATED BY

EUGENE VETROMILE, S. J.,

PROFESSOR IN THE COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS, AT WORCESTER, MASS.

WITH A

BRIEF MEMOIR OF PROF. VETROMILE,

BY

REV. EDWARD BALLARD, OF BRUNSWICK, ME.

MR. VETROMILE.

THE REV. EUGENE VETROMILE, S. J., the author of the following communication, is a native of Gallipolis, a city of the ancient "Magna Græcia," on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Taranto, at present belonging to the government of the King of Naples, and in which the ancient Æolic dialect of the Greek language is spoken in great purity. His education was commenced in that city, and continued under private teachers, and in its principal seminary, in which he spent three years in studies properly academic and theological. He then went to Naples to finish his course. But there his purpose was interrupted for several years by an appointment to instruct the pupils of the college of that city. Availing himself of an invitation to come to America, he completed his intended course of collegiate studies at Georgetown, D. C. While thus employed, he received his first knowledge of the Abnaki language, from the Rev. Mr. Barber, who had resided for ten years among the Penobscot Indians. With this assistance and a great readiness for the acquisition of language, he was soon prepared to enter on the mission at Oldtown, and was honored with the position of "Patriarch of the Indians." While employed in the duties of his office, he increased his knowledge of the language by hearing the sounds of the spoken dialects, and the free use of the many valuable manuscripts of the earlier missionaries of the Church of Rome to the various Eastern tribes. For their benefit he has published two editions of a volume called "Alnambay Uli Awickhigan," comprising devotions and instructions in their various dialects; and one edition of a small book to aid the musical portion of their worship, in which, in addition to the Gregorian chants, he has introduced several native airs, of sweet, though wild melody. This book is entitled "Ahiamihewintuhangun." His interest in the Abnaki language has induced him to undertake the preparation of a Comparative Dictionary of its several dialects; which valuable work, it is hoped, will be published under the auspices of the Maine Historical Society. He is believed to be the only person who can read a verse of Elliot's Indian Bible with a true understanding of the words of that translation.

THE ABNAKI INDIANS.

ALTHOUGH recent discoveries of manuscripts of the Abnaki language, prior and posterior to the date of the dictionary of Rev. Sebastian Rasles, have prevented me from preparing a communication on the Indian language of the ancient Acadia and New France — a communication which I reserve for some future opportunity, yet I have deemed proper for the present, to collect every historical document that I have met with, and to present an article on that powerful nation, which once occupied this land from the shores of the great St. Lawrence, down to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the mouth of the Kennebec river to the eastern part of New Hampshire. The kind and gentle Abnaki has disappeared from this State. Those few of that ancient and noble nation that remain yet — mixed with other tribes of Canada, — will soon share the same fate. It is true that the deep mosses of Maine shall no more be imprinted with the moccasin of its ancient master, yet no man shall ever be able to efface the name of the Abnaki out of this extensive land. Every hill and valley, every river and brook, every lake and pond, every bay and promontory, bears witness of that nation. True! the Abnaki disappeared from this soil, but not before having marked every nook, stream and pond with the name of their owner. The granite mon-

ument on the left shore of the Kennebec river, near Norridgewock, points out the lonely spot of the last Abnaki village in this State — the only spot east of the Mississippi marked with a monument to perpetuate the memory of an Indian village of the last century, to which so many historical recollections remain attached — a monument which is the pride of the antiquarian, and the target of vandalic hands.

The aborigines that once lived on the banks of the Kennebec river, in the State of Maine, were visited earlier than any other Indian nation of New France and Acadia, if we except the Sourriquois or Micmacs. When Father Bland, in 1613, sailed from Port Royal in Nova Scotia for Mount Desert, near the mouth of the Penobscot river, he had already visited the shores of the Kennebec, and the people of that country.¹ He spoke very highly of them, as of a powerful nation living in settled villages. Yet it is to be lamented that so little is known of them, even to render their very existence doubtful to some antiquarians of the present age. That eminent scholar, Baron William von Humboldt, in one of his letters, urged the publication of the dictionary of Father Rasles, on the ground that very little was known of the dialect of the Abnakis, and its publication would preserve that language from perpetual oblivion.² The object of this communication is to show whether there was any nation strictly called Abnaki, and to present some remarks upon that people.

It is a fact well known, that very often the same tribe or nation has received different names by various persons or nations; so the Abnakis were called Taranteens³ by the

¹ Shea : Catholic Mis. in the U. S., p. 131.

² John Pickering's notes on Jonathan Edwards, D. D. Mohegan Indians.

³ Very probably from Atironta, the name of a brave Indian who rendered so many services to the first missionaries.

English,¹ and Owenagungas by the New Yorkers. This fact has led several persons to think that the number of the Indian tribes was larger than it was in reality. Travelers, in observing the same tribe, or a part of it, encamped in different places, have been several times misled in taking them for different nations. The Indians are a roving people, and there is no difficulty to find the same tribe now at one place, now at another; in this manner the same tribe may have been reckoned several times. I can give an illustration of it in the Indians who live in Maine. The Passamaquoddy tribe at present dwells at four places. One part at Pleasant Point, near Perry, another part at Calais, another on the Schoodic lakes, and another on the British shore of the St. Croix river. Travelers not acquainted with this fact would make four tribes out of this nation, which forms only one tribe.

We must admit that a large portion of the North American Indians were called Abnakis, if not by themselves, at least by others. This word *Abnaki* is found spelt *Abenagues*, *Abenaki*, *Wapanachki* and *Wabenakies* by different writers of various nations, each adopting the manner of spelling according to the rules of pronunciation of their respective native languages. This, however, is of no consequence. The word generally received is spelled thus, *Abnaki*, but it should be *Wānbānaghi*, from the Indian word *wānbānban*, designating the people of the Aurora Borealis, or in general, of the place where the sky commences to appear white at the breaking of the day, from *wānbighen*, it is white. This observation is sufficient for the present. I shall give a fuller and more satisfactory translation of the word *Abnaki* in the progress of this communication.

It has been difficult for different writers to determine the number of nations or tribes comprehended under this word

¹ Shea: Hist. of the Catholic Mis.

Abnaki. It being a general word, by itself designates the people of the east or north-east. We follow the most of the authors, who have treated this subject, to embrace under this name all the tribes of the Algonic family who occupy, or have occupied the east or north-east shore of North America; thus, all the Indians of the sea shores, from Virginia to Nova Scotia, were *Abnaki*.¹ We include also the aborigines of Newfoundland, and of the northern shore of the St. Lawrence river as far as Labrador, because they also belong to the same family.

We find that the word *Abnaki* was applied in general, more or less, to all the Indians of the East, by persons who were not much acquainted with the aborigines of the country. On the contrary, the early writers, and others well acquainted with the natives of New France and Acadia, and the Indians themselves, by *Abnakis* always pointed out a particular nation existing north-west and south of the Kennebec river, and they never designated any other people of the Atlantic shore, from Cape Hatteras to Newfoundland.

In an ancient map published in 1660, in the history of Canada, written by Rev. Father Ducreux, the *Abnakis* (*Abnaquotii*) are located between the Kennebec (*Kinibakius fluvius*) and Lake *Champlain* (*Lacus Champlenus*), occupying the headwaters of the *Kennebec*, of the *Androscoggin* (*fluvius Amingocontius*), of the *Saco* (*Choacatus fluvius*), and of another river marked in the map without name, which must be, perhaps, the *Presumpscot* river. The same author does not put any other nation north of New England, except the *Etchimis* (*Etecheminii*) north and east of the Penobscot river (*Pentecoitius flumen*), and the *Sorriquois* (*Soricoi*) in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia (*Acadia*). No other nation is marked in New England (*Nova Anglia*), except the two following. The *Sokoquis* (*Soquoquisii*) be-

¹ See *Encycl. Amer.* vol. vi.

tween *Boston* (Bostonium Londini), *Plymouth* (Plimutium), *Cape Cod* (Promontorium Malabarreum) and the Connecticut river. The other nation is that of the *Mohegans* (natio Euporum), between the Connecticut river and the *North river* (fluvius borealis seu minsius). These are all the nations which occupied the area of New England and Acadia in 1660. Every nation, no doubt, was subdivided into different tribes.

This is confirmed by Father Bressani, Father Rasles, and other early missionaries, who spent a great number of years amongst the Indians, whose language and manners they possessed to some perfection. The different names given to nations located in New England and Acadia were generally from strangers. The number of tribes has been either too much exaggerated, or over reckoned. The same tribe may have been counted several times under different names, according to the various residence in which a tribe, or a part of it, had encamped for some war, hunting, or fishing party. These names were generally taken from some river, pond, etc., in whose vicinity they had pitched their camps. This must have been the cause of much confusion. We say at present the Penobscot, the Passamaquoddy, the Oldtown, the Pleasant Point, the Calais, the Louis Island, the Moosehead Lake, the Lincoln, the Mattinacook, the Passadumkeag, the Ollemon Indians, yet they are only one nation, the *Etchimis*, divided in two small tribes, the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy. This might have been the case in ancient times. Only five nations are reckoned in New England and Acadia, namely, the Mohegans, the Sokoquis, the Abnakis, the Etchimis, and the Micmacs.

La Hontan confirms it by putting the same nations and no others.¹ He mentions the *Openangos*, who are the Pe-

¹ Transactions of the Hist. and Lit. Com. of the Amer. Philos. Soc. of Philad. v. 1, p. 107.

nobscots,¹ and I would rather believe them to be the same Abnakis, by spelling the word differently, and the *Canibas*, who are the same *Abnakis* called by the French *Canibas*, or *Kanibals*, from the Kennebec river.² La Hontan, however, is inaccurate in locating them all in the ancient Acadia. This error is not uncommon to old writers not well acquainted with geography. Dr. Jonathan Edwards does not mention any other tribe in New England,³ and he falls into error of geography in locating the Penobscots in Nova Scotia. The classification of Gookin⁴ may be reduced to the following: The *Pequods* are the Mohegan nation—the *Narragansetts* and the *Massachusetts* must be the *Sokokis*. The *Pawkunnawkuts* or *Wampanoags* are the *Abnakis*, and under this name he comprehends, also, the *Etchimis* and *Micmacs*. Father Bressani does not mention any other nation. In a letter written by a French gentleman to a Father of the Society of Jesus,⁵ there is mention of the *Micmacs* and *Mareschites* (the Etchimis being called also Mareschites) in Acadia. On the St. George river, which divides New France from New England, he puts the *Abnakis* and *Kanibas*. Towards Quebec, the *Papinachis*, the *Saquenets*, the *Algonquins*, the *Iroquois*, the *Hurons*, the *Wolves* and *Sokokis*. Of these only the *Wolves*, and *Sokokis* are in New England. It is to be remarked that the *Sokokis* are put near the *Wolves*, and not near the *Abnakis*, just as they are in the map of Father Lecreux. Now leaving these tribes, we return to the *Abnakis*.

¹ Father Demilier's manuscripts.

² Father Rasles' Let. Lettres edif. vol. vi.

³ Observations on the language of the Muhhekaneen Ind., with notes by J. Pickering.

⁴ Transactions of the Amer. Antiq. Soc. at Cambridge, vol. iv. p. 33.

⁵ The travels of several learned missionaries of the Society of Jesus, p. 316.

The *Abnakis* had five great villages,¹ two amongst the French colonies, which must be the village of St. Joseph or Sillery, and that of St. Francis de Sales,² both in Canada, three on the head waters, or along three rivers, between Acadia and New England. These three rivers are the Kennebec, the Androscoggin, and the Saco, as it appears from the map of Father Lecreux, and from the words of Father Rasles, who says that these three rivers enter into the sea south of Canada, between New England and Acadia.³ The names of these villages must be those given by Father Rasles in his dictionary,⁴ namely, *Nānrāntswak* (where the river falls again), *Anmessukkantti* (where there is an abundance of large fish), *Pānnawānbskek* (it forks on the white rocks). These three villages are those of this State. The names of the two Abnaki villages of Canada are *Nessawakamighe* (where the river is barricaded with osier to fish, or where the fish is dried by smoke), and it is the present village of St. Francis of Sales. The other Canadian Abnaki village is St. Joseph or Sillery, called formerly by the Indians *Kamiskwawāngachit* (where they catch salmon with the spear.)⁵

The nation of the Abnakis bear evident marks of having been an original people in their name, manners, and language. They show a kind of civilization which must be the effect of antiquity, and of a past flourishing age. The origin and meaning of the word *Abnaki* has been always the subject of investigation amongst historians and philologists. It seems that they were satisfied in finding that it meant

¹ Father Rasles' Let. Lettres Edif. vol. vi. p. 159.

² Shea : Hist. of the Catholic Miss. p. 135—142.

³ Lettres Edif. vol. vi. p. 104.

⁴ Abnakis' dict. p. 544. Father Bigot's letters. See Les vœux des Hurons et des Abnaquis. Chartre, 1854.

⁵ Notes on Father Bressani's Relations, p. 329.

people of the east, without inquiring further into the analysis of the word. Rev. John Heckewelder spells it *Wapanachk*,¹ saying that the French had softened it to suit the analogy of their own tongue; yet he does not give the pronunciation of the word to see in what did the French soften it. Williamson,² in a note, gives the authority of Kendall, who resolves it into *wabamo* or *wabemo* (light, east) and *aski* (land), from which it follows that *ch* in *Wapanachki* was soft, hence there was no need for the French to soften it, it being favorite to the French to pronounce *ch* soft like *s*. This word then would have been *Abnasque* — very appropriate for the French pronunciation. Moreover, in the comparative vocabulary of fifty-three nations, published in the *Archæologia Americana* by the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester,³ in no language the word *aski* means land, except in that of the *Knistinaux Indians*; but *light* in that same language is *kisigostagoo*, and not *wabamo*. If it comes from *wabisca* or *wapishkawo* (white), it is very difficult to make *wapanachki* out of those two *Knistinaux* words. Then it remains to be proved when and how the *Knistinaux* Indians could call the aborigines of the Kennebec Eastlanders.

It is certain that the word Abnaki originally was not that with which the natives of the Kennebec River called themselves, but it was that with which they were called by others. I find in all the languages of Acadia and New England, that the word *Abnaki*, spelt as is found in the most ancient manuscripts,⁴ *Abanaquis*, *Abnaquois*, *Wabanaki*, means *our ancestors* or *our ancestors of the east*. This word is to be

¹ Transactions of the Hist. and Philos. Soc. of Phila., vol. i. p. 109.

² Hist. of Maine, vol. i. p. 463.

³ Transactions of the Amer. Antiq. Soc., vol. ii.

⁴ Father Bressani's notes at the word Abnaki.

resolved into *wānb-naghi*. *Wānb*¹ means white, hence *wānbighen*, it is white, (the breaking of the day), and *wānbānbān*, aurora borealis. All authors agree in this word, yet they never remarked the meaning of *naghi*, which means *ancestors* in all the dialects of New England and Acadia. Father Rasles says that *neganni arenānbak* means *the ancients of past time*.² *Oghan* in Mohegan means *father*, to which adding *n* it would mean *our fathers*.³ There is no Sokoki vocabulary of my knowledge, but if the Sokoki language be the Massachusetts, *noosh* in that dialect means *my father*.⁴ In Micmac, *nakan* has the signification of *old, ancient*, and it was also the meaning at an early time, as it appears from the manuscript of Father Mainard. *Nkani* in the Etchimi tongue means *our ancients*.⁵ It is quite natural that this word *Abnaki* (our ancestors of the East) should have been given by other tribes, and not by themselves, as they could not call themselves with that word, before it had been given by others. This is confirmed by the Abnakis themselves, who never called themselves by that name. It seems that they called themselves *men*. The Abnaki villages were called by them in general *narānkamigdok epitsik arenanbak*,⁶ men living on the high shores of the river. I speak the Abnaki language — *nedarenandwè* (I speak man, from *arenanbe*). I speak the Iroquois language — *nemekwaandwè* (I speak mequa), a name with

¹ *Wānb* may be spelt *wāb*, then the *ā* must have a strong nasal pronunciation, like that of the Portuguese language in the words *mão* (hand), *Alle-mão* (German).

² Abnaki Dict., p. 384.

³ Archæol. Amer., vol. ii., and Dr. J. Edwards' observation.

⁴ Transactions of the Amer. Antiq. Soc., vo. ii.

⁵ Father Demalier's MS. Dict.

⁶ Abnaki Dict., p. 542.

which the Mohawks were called by the natives living on the Atlantic shores.¹

This is confirmed by tradition. I am aware that Rev. John Heckewelder's narrative is looked upon with some distrust by several critics, who accuse him of too much credulity in listening to and believing the narrations of the Indians. However, this accusation has not yet been satisfactorily proved. Rev. J. Heckewelder, in the introduction to the account of the history, manners, and customs of the Indian nations,² says the Lenni-Lenapis are acknowledged by near forty Indian tribes, whom he calls nations, as being their *grandfathers*. Yet by perusing the text of Heckewelder with attention, it is not the Lenni-Lenapis that were called grandfathers, but the Abnakis. This word is extended by him to the Lenni-Lenapis, and by a personal preference, he concluded that the Lenni-Lenapis were the *grandfathers* of the forty nations; yet from the text it is clear that they were the Abnakis. No tribe ever called the Lenni-Lenapis, *Abnakis*, but if sometimes they may have been called so, it was in a general sense — extended to all the tribes from Virginia to Newfoundland. I cannot see how *Lenni-Lenapi* means *original men*. *Lenapi* is *man*, and it is the same word *alnambe* in *Abnaki*.³ If *Lenni* means also *man*,⁴ it must be an abbreviation of the word *Lenapi*, and it would mean *man-man*, that is *man by excellence*, and not *original man*. In the historical account of the Indian nations,⁵ in relating the treachery of the Mengwe Indians against the Lenni-Lenapis, Rev. J. Heckewelder seems to

¹ Transactions of the Am. Ant. Soc., vol. ii. p. 34.

² Transactions of the Hist. and Am. Philos. Soc. of Phila., vol. i. p. 25.

³ John Pickering's notes on Father Rasles' Dict.

⁴ Transactions of the Amer. Antiq. Soc., Cambridge, vol. ii. p. 308.

⁵ Philad. Philos. Trans., vol. i. p. 37.

explain what the Indians meant for *pure man*. He relates how the Lenni-Lenapis did not consider the Mengwe Indians as a pure race, or as rational beings, but as a mixture of the human and brutal kinds. Father Rasles, who had been a missionary amongst the Illinois, relates, that to be a real man, true man, amongst the Indians, means to be a great hunter, or a great warrior.¹

It is true the Indians have given the name of father, grandfather, uncle, etc., to several persons only for compliment, yet it was through respect and acknowledgment of a superiority. Hence we have to admit, that if it was through mere compliment that those forty nations called the Abnakis their grandfathers, they acknowledged in them, at least, some preference and superiority.

Yet we have a regular nomenclature of degrees of relationship amongst them. The Delaware Indians call the *Wyandots* (the Hurons) their uncles;² and we know that the Hurons are, more than any other nation, like the Abnakis, in manners and language. The *Lenapis* call the *Mohegans* their grandchildren;³ the *Shawanoes* and *Mohegans* acknowledged the *Lenapis* their grandfathers. The *Shawanoes* call the *Mohegans* their elder brothers, and the latter call the former their young brothers.⁴ Hence it appears that both *Mohegans* and *Shawanoes* were descendants of the *Lenapis*, and that the *Lenapis* being nephews to the *Hurons*, they were not original people, but they recognized some common ancestors with the Hurons. We find these common ancestors to be the *Abnakis*. The Abnakis never acknowledged any ancestral tribe, which is a proof of their

¹ Lettres Edif., vol. vi. p. 144.

² Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren by Rev. J. Heckewelder, p. 115.

³ Williamson's Hist. of Maine, vol. i. p. 455.

⁴ Philad. Philos. Transactions, vol. i. p. 69.

antiquity. An early Abnaki missionary, giving the cosmogony of that tribe, says they claim to have been created where they were, and that the Great Spirit, having made them and their land as a *chef d'œuvre*, made the rest carelessly.¹

Having observed how the name and tradition show that the *Abnakis* are an original people, let us consider a few more remarks drawn from their manners and language, to prove the same subject.

One of the characters of the Algie family is to be errant and roving in the woods. The Hurons had some fixed villages, yet they were not described to be of that order and neatness as those of the Abnakis.² The mound existing on the Kennebec River of Maine proves that only the Abnakis had villages of some consideration. No other mound of any elevation can be found in New England, with the exception of some vestiges of enclosures at Sanbornton and near Concord, New Hampshire.³ Father Rasles mentions three considerable villages in the State of Maine,⁴ besides the two amongst the French colonies. In the one at Norridgewock, he says the cottages were distributed with an order very near like the houses in the cities. This village was surrounded by a kind of wall of poles or stakes, high and so thick as to protect them against the incursions of the enemies. The cottages, although built of poles, and covered with large bark, yet were elegant and convenient. Their dress was modest, and ornamented with a great variety of rings, necklaces, bracelets, belts, etc., made out of shells and stones, worked with great skill. It was not so with the other surrounding tribes of the Algie family; they were

¹ John S. Shea : Letter.

² Father Bressani's relation abr., p. 56.

³ Samuel F. Haven : Archæology of the U. S., p. 153.

⁴ Lettres Edif., vol. vi.

negligent in their dress or entirely naked. Although at seasons they went hunting the wild animals of the forest, and fishing on their numerous lakes and rivers, yet this was not the only method on which they depended for acquiring the necessities of life. They practiced also agriculture. Their fields of *skamgnar* (corn) were very luxuriant. As soon as the snows had disappeared, they prepared the land with great care, and at the commencement of June they planted the corn, by making holes with the fingers or with a stick, and having dropped eight or nine grains of corn, they covered them with earth. Their harvest was at the end of August.

The Abnakis had an amenity of manners and a docility, which distinguished them by far from the other Algonquin tribes, which cannot be but the effect of education. Their morals were pure, and they have never been charged with any kind of cruelty, even in time of war. When Father Druilles¹ proposed to them, as a condition to receive baptism, that they should first give up intoxicating liquors, to live in peace with their neighbors, and to abandon their medicine bags, drums, and other superstitious objects, they all agreed without difficulty. On the other hand, we find that this was one of the greatest obstacles which missionaries encountered in planting the gospel amongst the other tribes. We know the troubles, dangers, and persecutions which Fathers La Marquette, Brebeuf, and others endured from the medicine men of those tribes to which they were preaching the gospel. Their affection for their children was very striking. Soon after their birth, they were wrapped in a bearskin, and they were raised with much care, and as soon as they were able to walk, they were taught how to manage the bow and arrows. They were remarkably hospitable, and their attachment to the family was such as we do not read of in other

¹ Shea : Cath. Miss., p. 139.

tribes of the Algie family. Their courage and valor as warriors were unsurpassed, even against European troops. Twenty Abnakis once entered an English trading-house, either to rest or to traffic, when they were surrounded by two hundred British soldiers, to capture them, when one Abnaki gave the alarm of war, crying "We are dead, let us sell our lives dearly." They prepared themselves to fall upon the British soldiers, who had great difficulty to pacify them.¹ Another time, during the war of England and France, thirty Abnaki warriors, returning from a military expedition against the British, while they unsuspectingly were asleep during the night, were found by a party of British soldiers, headed by a colonel, who had been on their track. The soldiers, six hundred in number, surrounded them, certain of their capture, when an Abnaki awoke and cried to the others, "We are dead, let us sell our lives dearly." They arose instantly, formed six divisions of five men each, and with the tomahawk in one hand, and a knife in the other, they fell upon the British soldiers with such force and impetuosity, that they killed sixty soldiers, including the colonel, and dispersed the rest. In the last war between England and France, the Abnakis joined the latter, on account of their allegiance to this nation, and during the war, they spread desolation in every part of the land occupied by the English. They ravaged their villages, forts, farms, took away a large quantity of cattle, and made six hundred prisoners.¹

Their sentiments and principles of justice had no parallel amongst the other tribes. We never read of their having been treacherous, nor of a want of honor or conscience in fulfilling their word given either in private or in a public treaty. We have a very remarkable example of the sacredness with which they held their allegiance to France.¹ In

¹ Lettres Edif., vol. vi.

the time that the war was about to break out between the European countries, the British governor, lately arrived at Boston, required a conference with the Abnaki Indians, to be held on an island. He endeavored to induce the Abnakis to remain neutral, and to let the French and English settle their matter amongst themselves, who were equally strong; and he promised to furnish the Indians with everything they wanted, and to buy their peltry. This was the great answer given by the Indians, after a consultation held amongst themselves, and delivered by one of their orators:—

“Great Captain, you say to us not to join ourselves to the French, supposing that you are going to declare war against him. Let it be known to you that the French is my brother, he and I have the same prayer, and we both live in the same wigwam, at two fires,—he has one fire, and I the other. If I see you enter the wigwam on the side of the fire where the French my brother is seated, I shall observe you from my mat where I am seated, at the other fire. In observing you, if I see that you have a tomahawk, I will think to myself, ‘What does the English intend to do with that tomahawk?’ I will rise from my mat to see what he intends to do. If he raise the tomahawk to strike the French my brother, I shall take my tomahawk, and I will run to the English and strike him. Can I see my brother be stricken in my own wigwam, and I remain quiet, seated upon my mat? No, no! I love my brother too much, that I should not protect him. I tell you, Great Captain, do nothing against my brother, and I will do nothing against you; stay quiet upon your mat and I will stay quiet upon mine.” I could bring other proofs of the noble sentiments of this nation, to show that the heart and mind of the Abnakis were not savage and uncultivated, like many of the other tribes of the Algie family, but they were grand, pure, and

refined, to scorn even the most civilized nations of both continents.

It is a point already known to you, that a primitive language in a state of infancy is monosyllabic, like the Chinese and others in Asia, and that the Indian language, being composed of words formed by an agglutination of other words, or parts of them, can not be a language in a state of infancy. Yet, it being common to all the Indian dialects, it proves nothing for my subject. At present I am not prepared to give a comparative view between the language of the Abnakis, and those of the other tribes, to show the superiority and cultivation of the former above the latter. I will only make some remarks upon two points, namely, upon a traditional superiority of the Abnaki language, and upon the manner of writing it.

Baron La Hontan¹ puts only two mother languages in the whole extent of Canada; the Huron and the Algonquin. Speaking of the Algonquin language, he asserts that it was a language very much esteemed amongst the savages, in the same manner as the Greek and Latin languages are esteemed in Europe. From this it follows that it must have been a cultivated mother language, and, as it were, a classic tongue amongst them. In the transactions of the historical and literary committee of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia,¹ it is agreed that what the Baron La Hontan remarked of this language was very correct, but they do not allow to him to call it Algonquin, but they want it to be called Abnaki, that is to say, this quality of being a classic language belongs to the Abnaki nation, and not to the Algonquin, which is a small, miserable, wandering tribe. We fully agree with this remark of the learned Society of Philadelphia, and especially in observing that La Hontan puts the Abnakis at the head of the tribes inhabiting Nova

¹ Vol. 1, p. 109.

Scotia, whom he calls also Abnakis. Rev. J. Heckewelder, who appears to be the author of these remarks, reflects further ¹ that La Hontan probably did not understand sufficiently the Abnaki language, otherwise the Indians would have informed him that they derived their origin from a powerful nation, whom they revered as their grandfather. I know that Rev. J. Heckewelder alludes to the Lenni-Lenapis, but I have already proved how the Lenni-Lenapis must be referred to the Abnakis, because the Lenni-Lenapis were not Abnakis, except in a general sense, called so only by authors not much acquainted with the Abnakis.

It has been an object of research amongst the antiquarians, to find whether the aborigines of this continent possessed any manner of writing. With the exception of the Mexicans and Peruvians, it has been denied. All, however, agree that they had a kind of hieroglyphics, or rather pictures, with some conventional signs to transmit an event, battle, hunting party, etc. The celebrated Dighton rock, the other at a place in Connecticut, called by the Indians *Scaticook*, and many others collected by Dr. H. R. Schoolcraft, ¹ show that they had an imperfect manner of engraving pictures, with a few signs, which could not be reduced to a regular system of writing with hieroglyphics, like the people of Asia. Yet it was because they were not familiar enough with the Indians of the North. The Abnakis and neighboring tribes had a regular method of writing in the same manner as the Chinese, Japanese, and other Asiatic nations, although with different characters. This kind of writing is yet used amongst the Micmacs, and I am surprised that no writer has yet made any mention of this manner of scripture.

¹ Phila. Transactions, vol. i. p. 109.

¹ Hist. Cond. and Prosp. of the Indian Tribes.

This system is so perfect, that there are in existence three regular books, one containing prayers, another the mass, and another a catechism; two of these, written by an Indian, are in my possession. A specimen of this handwriting, with the English version, is appended at the end of this communication. It reads running from the left to the right. Old Indians, however, at Oldtown, informed me of having seen this kind of books written by running in a vertical line from the top to the bottom, and, if I am not mistaken, others running from the right to the left.

I close the present subject by giving a short history of this manner of writing, — such as it exists by tradition amongst the Indians, confirmed by their missionaries,¹ and especially by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Colin Frs: MacKinnon, D. D., Bishop of Arichat, who, being a native of Nova Scotia, and a scholar of great talents and high education, has been for many years amongst the Micmac Indians.

When the French first arrived in Acadia, the Indians were used to write and read on barks, trees, and stones, engraved with signs made with arrows, sharp stones, or other instruments. They were used to send pieces of bark, marked with those signs, to other Indians of other tribes, and to receive back answers written in the same manner, just as we do with letters and notes. Their chiefs were used to send circulars, made in the same manner, to all their men in time of war to ask their advice and to give directions. Several Indians possessed in their wigwams a kind of library composed of stones and pieces of bark, and the medicine men had large manuscripts of these peculiar characters, which they read over the sick persons. Inscriptions of this kind were made by Indians on standing trees, in the woods, to inform others about some extraordinary event. The Indians assert that by these signs they could

¹ Letter of Rev. Charles Kauder, a missionary amongst the Micmacs.

express any idea with every modification, just as we do with our writings. When the French missionaries arrived in that country, (they generally refer to Fathers Maijard and Le Loudre), they made use of these signs, as they found them, in order to instruct the Indians. They improved them, and others were added in order to express the doctrine and mysteries of the Christian religion.

This kind of writing does not exist, nor do we know that it has existed amongst other nations of the Algonquin family. All the researches made by so many missionaries, by so many learned antiquarians, could never find any of these characters to have been used by other Indians, such as we find at present amongst the Micmacs, and which formerly were common amongst all the Indians of Acadia and of a portion of New France. I will reserve for another occasion to show how the Micmacs, the Montagnaises, the Etchimis, and the Abnakis melt in one same nation and language; and these must be the tribes that, according to the tradition of the Micmacs, kept correspondence among themselves by this kind of hand-writing. We have already observed that Baron La Hontan puts the Abnakis at the head of the Indians of Nova Scotia, and Rev. J. Heckewelder approves of it; and certainly they were correct in this view. A few of these hieroglyphics can yet be seen amongst the writings of Father Rasles, which is a confirmation of what I assert. The Abnakis have disappeared, with the exception of a few left in Canada. The Etchimis are vanishing away very rapidly. The Montagnaises are in the same condition. The Micmacs are at present the only standing nation that can represent the red man of the northeast; hence no wonder that we find the remains of this manner of writing, preserved especially by the care of their missionaries. I hope that this system of hand-writing will not be suffered to be buried in silence amongst the ruins of time, but that the

memory of this kind of scripture shall be transmitted to future ages to show the antiquity and education of the noble and gentle, but ill-fated Abnaki.

EUGENE VETROMILE, S. J.

SPECIMEN OF THE MICMAC LANGUAGE.

Isolated Words.

Micmac. — Nixkam, nixkaminak, wajok, elukultigik,
English. — Spirit, spirits, heaven, wicked,
 weguisit, utinin, neuktejik, tabujijik, nessijijik, menduakik,
 father, body, one, two, three, hell,
 kadu, mu, wen, kokwey utchit.
 but, no, who, why.

Sentences.

Esselekeh, taluisultijik? net na delwidemek nixkam,
 He gives to eat, how are they called? that is called spirit,
 lias, lidadach, m'set lidadach, kulelman,
 I will go, they will go, all will go, in doing so.
 Nixkam pawatkus eta n'kesalan, n'makelman,
 The Spirit wishes indeed I may love him, glorify him,
 n'talahim, n'nenuan, sikendasultijik, mu sikendasultijik,
 adore him, know him. baptized, not baptized,
 wen kisiskos? Nixkam eta kisip wajok
 who made you? The Spirit indeed made me to heaven

lidadak, Weguisit Nixkam Euschit Nixkam,
that I might go. Father God (or Spirit), Son God (or Spirit),
Wegi-Uli Nixkam kokwey eduk kommnieudi?
Good Spirit God (or Spirit), what is communion?
skadu mu eta.
but no indeed.

NOTE. — Mr. Vetromile has given in his manuscript the Indian characters which stand for the English words of the above vocabulary ; but these, very interesting as they are, we must fail to present to our readers for want of the necessary types.

ARTICLE X.

THE ABENAKI INDIANS;

THEIR TREATIES OF 1713 & 1717, AND A VOCABULARY:

WITH A

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

BY

FREDERIC KIDDER, OF BOSTON.

THE ABENAKI INDIANS.

THE present spirit of inquiry into the early history of New England is bringing forth additional facts and evolving new light, by which we are every day seeing more clearly the true motive and incentives for its colonization. But whenever the student turns to investigate the history of the aboriginal tribes, who once inhabited this part of the country, he is struck, not so much with the paucity of materials, as with the complication and difficulties which our earlier and later writers have thrown around the subject, as well as the very different light with which they have viewed it.

The first explorers of our coast, whose intercourse with the Indians was limited to trading for furs and skins, seem to have had a much better opinion of them than Mather, Hubbard, and some still later writers. It is not to be supposed that while a large part of the population were smarting from the distress of almost continued Indian wars, that even the most candid could coolly investigate, and impartially record the history, character, and wants of such a people. But the time has arrived, when, divesting ourselves of all prejudice, we can examine carefully their true situation, and making allowance for their condition, write their history with fairness and candor.

The present sketch is confined to a brief notice of the tribes who inhabited the territory now constituting the

States of Maine and New Hampshire, all of which may be considered as embraced under the name of Abenakis, or more properly Wanbanakkie. It has often been supposed that this name was given them by the French, but it is undoubtedly their original appellation, being derived from Wanbanban, which may be defined the people of aurora borealis or northern light.

It is only now intended to sketch their earlier history, and to trace the various emigrations to the present residence of the Abenakis proper, in Canada; and viewing this tribe as the living representative of our extinct ones, to consider its interesting history, so clearly connected with New England frontier life, although most of that history is but a record of war and wretchedness.

The celebrated discoverer, Capt. John Smith, in his general history, furnishes the earliest and most reliable description of the Indians on the coast of Maine, as they were in 1614; other writers give accounts of tribes there, some of which it is difficult to distinguish or locate; but it may be best to consider all that were residing in the two States above-mentioned as embraced in about eight distinct tribes, namely: Penobscots or Tarrentines, Passamaquodies or Sybayks, Wawenocks, Norridgewoks or Canibas, Assagunticooks, Sokokis or Pequakets, Pennacooks, Malacites or St. Johns.

The Penobscots¹ were probably the most numerous and influential tribe. Their chief or bashaba was said to have been acknowledged as a superior as far as Massachusetts Bay. They occupied the country on both sides of the Penobscot Bay and River; their summer resort being near the sea, but during the winter and spring they inhabited lands

¹ For a pleasant and very well-written account of this tribe, by Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, see the *Christian Examiner* for 1857.

near the falls, where they still reside. It is somewhat strange to find a tribe numbering about five hundred still remaining in their ancient abode, and, though surrounded by whites, retaining their language, religion, and many of the habits and customs of centuries past, with a probability of perpetuating them for ages to come. Their name is from *penobsq*, rock, and *utoret*, a place, literally, rocky-place, — which no doubt refers to the rocky falls in the river near their residence. It is not supposed that many of this tribe emigrated to Canada, although they had constant intercourse with that country.

The Passamaquodies were found occupying the northeastern corner of Maine, if, as it is generally supposed, they are the descendants of those seen and described by De Monts, who spent the winter of 1604 near their present head-quarters. Their subsequent history for more than a century was but a blank, as in all that time they are not mentioned by any writer, or named in any of the treaties, till after the conquest of Canada. This omission is certainly strange, as in the ones of 1713 and 1717 now published in this volume, mere fragments of tribes are named and represented.

Still, if any reliance can be placed on their own traditions, they had resided for generations previous to the Revolution around the lower Schoodic Lake, where the recent discovery of stone hatchets and other implements of an ancient make would seem to verify their assertions. They also point out the place of a fight with the Mohawks, who two centuries ago carried terror into all the Indian villages from Carolina to the Bay of Fundy. It is probable that from their distant inland and secluded position, as well as their limited numbers, they were in no way connected with the various wars which the other tribes waged against the colonists, and so were unnoticed. As their residence on the lake was

nearer Machias than any other available point on the sea coast, it may be that to trade with this people the trading house was established there by the Plymouth Colony, in 1630, and they were often called the Machias Indians. Although their intercourse has long continued with Canada, up to this time they have sent no emigrants there. They number at present between four and five hundred souls, and still adhere to the religious forms taught them by the Jesuits. This tribe designate themselves by the name of Sybayk.¹

The Wawenocks were located on the sea-coast, and inhabited the country from the Sheepscot to the St. George; they are quite fully described by Capt. John Smith, who had much intercourse with them. From their situation on the rivers and harbors, they were much sooner disturbed by the settlements than any other of the tribes in Maine. In 1747 there were but a few families remaining. At the treaty at Falmouth, in 1749, they were associated with the Assagunticooks, among whom they were then settled, and with whom they soon after removed to Canada. The Canibas or Norridgewoks occupied the valley of the Kennebec, from the tide water to its sources; their principal residence was at Norridgewock. Here the Jesuit missionaries, at an early period, taught them their religious faith, and by sharing with them their privations and hardships, obtained a controlling influence over them.

As they inhabited fertile intervale land, they gave more attention to agriculture than any of the neighboring tribes, and appear to have been originally more peaceably inclined towards the whites than some of their neighbors. Residing so far inland, they were but little acquainted with the prow-

¹ Mr. Sabine has given their history in a truthful and friendly communication to the *Christian Examiner* for 1852.

ess of the whites, and sent out their war parties to commit murders and depredations on the unprotected settlers, without expecting a retribution on their own heads. After a long succession of murders and captures in the English settlements, by this tribe, instigated, as was believed, by their priest, Sebastian Rasle, an expedition was sent against them, consisting of about two hundred men, who killed about thirty Indians, including Rasle, and destroyed the place, without the loss of a man. This broke their power, but they continued to reside there for many years, and gradually retired to the St. Francis, — the last family migrating near the end of the last century.

The Assagunticooks were a numerous tribe who inhabited the country along the whole valley of the Androscoggin; and although their lands were not occupied by whites, they were frequently bitter enemies, and were the first to begin a war and the last to make peace. Their location gave them easy access to the settlements, from Casco to Piscataqua, which they improved to glut their thirst for blood and slaughter. About 1750 they moved to Canada and joined the St. Francis tribe. They could then muster about one hundred and fifty warriors, and being much the most numerous tribe that emigrated there, it is supposed they had the greatest influence, and that their dialect is more truly perpetuated than any other in that confederacy.

The Sokokis inhabited the country bordering on the Saco River, but were mostly limited to its head waters. Their villages were located on the alluvial lands in what is now Fryeburg, Me., and Conway, N. H. The Pegwakets and Ossipees were either identical with or branches of this tribe. In 1725 Capt. John Lovewell with about fifty soldiers, on a scouting adventure in the vicinity, fell in with a war party of the tribe, and a sanguinary battle ensued, disastrous to both parties. Their chief, Paugus, was slain;

and within a short period the remainder of the tribe, dispirited by their misfortunes, retired to Canada.

The Pennacooks were probably the only occupants of the waters of the Merrimac, and perhaps included nearly all the nations who resided in what is now the State of New Hampshire. Their principal residence was at Amoskeag Falls, the site of the present manufacturing city of Manchester. It is usual to name the Pennatuckets, Wambesitts, Souhegans, and some others as tribes, but there can be no doubt they all owned fealty to the head sagamore of the Pennacooks, and were only branches of that tribe, as were all the Indians on the Piscataqua and its waters. It is also probable the small band of Cowasacks, on the upper Connecticut, were of this tribe. The Pennacooks must have been at one time a numerous community, and were less warlike than any of the Abenaki race. It is likely they were more disposed to cultivate the soil, and their historian, Judge Potter, represents them as amiable and friendly to the whites. Notwithstanding, they were the earliest emigrants to Canada. They left their pleasant hunting grounds with regret, and often returned to cultivate their ancient fields; but few of them resided permanently there after about 1700.

It is proper to add to the names of the original Abenaki tribes, that of the Malacite or Amalecite, who have always resided on the St. John. It is not known that any part of this tribe emigrated to Canada with those of Maine, but in 1828 about thirty families emigrated there, and settled on a branch of the River Verte. But the largest part still reside in New Brunswick.

We come now to trace the emigration of the Abenakis to the banks of the St. Lawrence. As the Jesuits had been in constant communication with the tribes in Maine for more than half a century, the Indians had learned the way to Quebec, and it is probable that during Philip's war some of

the tribes obtained arms and ammunition from that place. During this war the Pennacooks, under the influence of their chief, Wonnolancet, had remained neutral, and in July, 1676, at Chochecho, signed with some others a treaty of perpetual peace. Still, the feeling of the whites was so strong against all the race, that they placed little reliance on their former good conduct or present promises. A few months after this treaty, they induced a large number of Indians, from the various tribes, to come to the same place, and where all the militia of the provinces had assembled, and while professing to practice some sham evolutions, the Indians were suddenly surrounded and captured. Many of the prisoners so treacherously obtained were executed, and others sold into slavery for having been in arms against the whites.

Although Wonnolancet and his tribe were discharged, this breach of faith must have taught him that he could not rely on the white man's promise, and that neither he nor his tribe was safe on the Merrimac. With this feeling he, with a part of them, left for Canada in the autumn of 1677. Although he subsequently returned to visit his former hunting and fishing grounds, his real home was, for the remainder of his life, near Quebec, and he with his band became the nucleus of the Indian settlement there; but it is not apparent that he was at any period the enemy of the English.

In the course of the war, nearly all the tribes in New England had been more or less involved in it. The colonists now looked upon them as a conquered race of heathen, and that their duty was to drive them out, and enjoy their lands in the manner of the Israelites of old. On the other hand, the Indians who had made terms of peace, having now for the first time realized that they had not the ability to cope with the English in war, and could not trust their friendship in peace, naturally looked to the French as the protectors of their villages and hunting grounds. Many of

them were willing to place themselves and their families under their care.

Therefore the Jesuits, who had for a long time been their spiritual, and often their temporal advisers, began to turn the steps of the broken and scattered remnants of the tribes who had suffered most in the war, to the feeble settlement of the Pennacooks, near Quebec, and as early as 1685, the Governor of that colony granted a tract of land at a place called Côte de Lauzon, opposite that city, for their use. Up to the commencement of the war, a considerable number of Indians had continued to reside on the Connecticut river, above Northampton; they had fought against the whites, and at the death of Philip, fled and took up their abode at Scauticook, above Albany, and were afterwards increased by additions from other tribes.

After a few years, the government of New York became desirous of being rid of such neighbors, whom they could not trust or control, and induced them to remove to Canada, where most of them were settled before the close of that century, with or near the Pennacooks.

Early in the eighteenth century, the numbers of refugee Indians attracted the attention of the Governor of Canada, and as the whole of the French population of that colony did not then number ten thousand souls, he saw they would materially add to the strength of his command, and could be used most effectually against the frontiers of New England. He therefore took measures to give them a home there. As the grant near Quebec was found not adapted to their needs and condition, probably from its close contiguity to that city, two convenient tracts of land were granted for their use; the first bears date Aug. 23, 1700, the second, May 10, 1701. These were on the St. Francis river, which has given a name to the tribe. In 1704 another settlement of refugees from New England received a grant of

land at a place called Begancour, near Three Rivers, and during this year the Governor addressed a letter to the ministry in France, giving his reasons for inducing the Abenakis to settle in his colony, and from this period it was a constant policy to encourage their immigration there, for more than half a century.

Here was the place where parties were to be fitted out to carry war, destruction, and misery to the frontiers of New England.

In 1704 these Indians piloted a body of French to the vicinity of their former homes, on the Connecticut, and entirely destroyed Deerfield. The writer not long since conversed with an ancient member of this tribe, who claimed to be the great grandson of Esther Williams, daughter of Rev. John Williams, who was, with his family, captured at that time. In 1707 this tribe, piloted by the Pennacooks down the Merrimac, destroyed Haverhill, murdering and capturing most of its inhabitants. It would fill a volume to relate the bloody tragedies acted and instigated by this tribe; it seems almost incredible that any people could exist for a generation amidst such repeated incursions of a relentless enemy.

In November, 1724, Vaudreuil, Governor General of Canada, addressed an urgent letter to the Minister of War in France, giving an account of the attack on Norridgewock, and the death of Father Rasle, with a full account of the losses and sufferings of that tribe, and asking for a grant of ammunition, guns, and blankets to supply their losses, and enable them to make war on the English settlements. He also gives a particular account of the condition of the Abenakis, and says, "of all the Indians in New France, they are in a position to render the most service; this nation consists of five villages, which number, altogether, about five hundred warriors. Two of these villages are situated

on the St. Lawrence, near Three Rivers — one below that town called Bégancour, the other ten leagues above, called St. Francis, the three others are in the direction of Acadie, called Narantsouak, on the River Kanibekky, Panagamsdé, on the Pentagouet (Penobscot), and Medocteck, on the River St. John. These three villages have different routes, each by its own river, whereby they can reach Quebeck in a few days.”¹

In April, 1725, a delegation of three gentlemen visited Montreal with a letter from the Governor of Massachusetts, in reply to one addressed to him some months previously by M. Vaudreuil, relative to the attack at Norridgewock, and the death of Father Rasle. They demanded that the prisoners held by the Abenakis should be given up, and a perpetual peace established.

The Indians, who were entirely under the influence of the French, were extremely haughty in their language and deportment; they demanded that the English should restore their lands, rebuild their church, which they had destroyed at Norridgewock, and when asked what land they referred to, said “that their land commenced at the River Gounitogon, otherwise called the long river,² which lies to the west beyond Boston, that this river was formerly the boundary which separated the lands of the Iroquois from those of the Abenakis, that according to this boundary, Boston and the greater part of the English settlements east of it are in Abenakis’ lands; that they would be justified in telling them to quit there, but that they had considered that their settlements were established and that they were still inclined to tolerate them; but they demanded as an express condition of peace that the English should abandon the

¹ See N. Y. Colonial Documents, edited by E. B. O’Calligan, LL. D.

² Undoubtedly the Connecticut.

country from one league beyond Saco River to Port Royal, which was the line separating the lands of the Abenakis from those of the Micmaks." ¹

The Abenakis denied that they had ever sold any land to the English, and when the latter claimed that much of it was theirs by a possession of more than eighty years, and that this possession gave them a title, the Indians replied, "We were in possession before you, for we have held it from time immemorial." The English delegates conceded that they did not claim beyond the west bank of the Narant-souak (Kennebec), and that the fort at St. George was built not by them, but by the government of Port Royal.

The meeting seems to have been unsatisfactory to the delegation, and no treaty or arrangement was made. The French governor denied that they had furnished the Indians with arms, or instigated them to attack the English, although Vaudreuil's letters to his government in France bear abundant evidence that this was his constant policy.

In the treaty with many of the tribes, held at Deerfield in 1735, the St. Francis Indians were represented, and agreed to the arrangement for perpetual peace; but a few years elapsed before they were again engaged in their bloody pastime. War was declared against France in 1744, and the Abenakis were soon hovering on the frontiers. In 1746, Keene and Concord, in New Hampshire, felt their power, and many captives were carried to Canada. In 1752 Capt. Phineas Stevens proceeded to Canada, as a delegate from the governor of Massachusetts, to confer with the Abenakis, and to redeem some prisoners they had in their possession. At a conference had with them in the presence of the governor of Canada, Atewaneto, the chief speaker, made an eloquent reply, in which he charged the English with trespassing on their lands: he said, "We acknowledge

¹ N. Y. Colonial Documents, vol. ix.

no other land of yours than your settlements, wherever you have built, and we will not consent, under any pretext, that you pass beyond them. The lands we possess have been given us by the Great Master of Life, we acknowledge to hold only from him."

In 1755 they were again in the field, and followed the French armies to the head of Lake George, and carried terror into the new townships on the Connecticut river. Some of their small parties at that late day penetrated within sixty miles of the capital of New England. But these long continued aggressions were soon to meet a fearful retribution. The capture of Quebec, which gave North America to England, had changed the relation of the Abenakis. Capt. Kennedy having been sent to their villages with a flag of truce, was, with his whole party, made prisoners. To chastise them for this outrage, as well as to retaliate for their continued cruelty and murders on the defenseless frontier settlements, Gen. Amherst dispatched the celebrated Major Rogers with a detachment of his rangers to the villages on the St. Francis. Just before daybreak, on the fifth of October, he surprised and killed at least two hundred Indians, and burnt all their wigwams, plunder, and effects. Rogers in his journal says: "To my own knowledge, in six years' time, the St. Francis Indians had killed and carried into captivity on the frontiers of New England, four hundred persons; we found in the town, hanging on poles over the doors &c., about six hundred scalps, mostly English."

The power of the tribe for evil was gone, and we hear no more of them till the Revolution, when their warriors followed Burgoyne to Saratoga, where they again used the tomahawk and scalping knife, but when his fortunes began to wane, they retired to the banks of the St. Lawrence. Again in the war of 1812, they joined the English, but their num-

bers were few, and after a brief campaign, they, for the last time, retraced their steps to their own homes.

A few more remarks will close the history of this tribe, once the terror of New England.

The present condition of the Abenakis is given in a report made in 1858 to the Legislative Assembly of Canada. This states that the tribe on the St. Francis has diminished to three hundred and eighty-seven persons; they live mainly by agriculture, but everything is done in so rude a way, that they gather but scanty crops. Part of them, through the exertions of one of their own number, have been induced to discard their ancient faith, and are now professed Methodists. This change has involved the tribe in continual feuds and difficulties, which will prevent any improvement, and will probably lead to a permanent division and removal of one of the parties. They often undergo much privation for want of proper food and other necessities of life. The portion of the tribe at Begancour presents a still more degraded condition. There remain but thirty families, in all one hundred and seventy-two individuals. They still remain Roman Catholics, have no schools, and seem to have reached the extreme of misery and destitution, and so completely have this people intermixed, that their missionary writes, "he does not know of a single pure Abenaki among them."

The vocabulary now published is copied from a small volume printed about thirty years ago, entitled "Wobanaki Kimzowi Awighigan," i. e. Abenaki Spelling Book. It was procured by the writer with much difficulty, as it was the only copy that could be obtained among them. It is supposed by those qualified to judge, to be a fair specimen of the dialect formerly spoken on the Androscoggin and Kennebec, although there are in it many words originally borrowed from the French and English. From a memorandum

made when with them a few years since, the name of their tribe, as near as can be written and pronounced in English, is W'Banankee, accenting the last syllable.

The treaties, now for the first time printed, are copied from the original in the possession of the writer; they will be perused with pleasure by those interested in antiquarian researches. But at the present day it is difficult to realize the interest which these proceedings and documents excited; they were often considered almost a matter of life or death to the frontier settlers. It is apparent that every chief had then his peculiar totem, or symbol. At a later period this system was abandoned, and they used only a simple cross. Among the chiefs who signed, is to be found the totem of Bombazeen and some others, whose names are perpetuated in history for their bloody exploits. The autographs annexed show the names of men then prominent in both provinces, and some of them afterwards attained the highest positions in political life.

The vocabularies and treaties are now submitted for publication by request of the Maine Historical Society.

BOSTON, AUGUST, 1859.

EXTRACTS FROM A SPELLING-BOOK IN THE ABENAKI LANGUAGE.

PUBLISHED IN BOSTON IN 1830, AND CALLED "KIMZOWI AWIGHIGAN," THE
LAST WORD BEING THE TERM FOR BOOK.

The sounds of the vowels are represented in English according to the following scheme.

Vowels.

A	a	as <i>a</i> in father, psalm.
E	e	as <i>e</i> in met, or in accident.
I	i	as <i>ee</i> in seen, or <i>i</i> in machine.
O	o	as <i>o</i> in note.
U	u	as <i>u</i> in tube, cube; also used after <i>g</i> , as in language.
	ũ	as <i>ũ</i> in cup, sun.

Nasal.

O o

Diphthongs.

Ai	ai	as <i>i</i> in pine, nine.
Au	au	as <i>ow</i> or <i>ou</i> in how, thou.

*Consonants.**Names.**Consonants.**Names.*

B	b	bi	N	n	ni
D	d	di	P	p	pi
G	g	gi	S	s	si
H	h	hi	T	t	ti
J	j	ji	W	w	wi
K	k	ki	Z	z	zi
L	l	li	CH	ch	chi
M	m	mi			

Chols — cricket	swip — jew
kots — goat	sips — a fowl
kask — cap	wins — black birch
pots — boot	wskan — bone
mskakw — swamp	a sokw — cloud
nbes — lake	wkot — leg
mskask — spruce	cha kwat — daylight
paks — box	cha ga — now then
mke zen — shoe	chi bai — ghost
sop — soap	chog lüskw — black bird
sen — stone	chan naps — turnip
tlaps — trap	chbo sa — walks apart
win — marrow	pne kōkw — sandy hill
wchat — sinew	pō bakw — a bog
wli — good	pe guis — a gnat
ne bi — water	psi gaskw — board
cha kwa — this morning	psan ta — full
chi ga — when	to son — a shed
chbi wi — apart	ta lin — earthen basin
chig naz — thorn plum	sko tam — trout
cho wi — must be, certain	ski ia — raw
pa skwa — noon	o-kwa — maggot
pla nikw — flying squirrel	ska mon — corn
pi han — rope	ska kwam — green stick
psig ia — half	mski ko — grass
kokw — kettle	psa na wi — full of
kogw — porcupine	ab on — cake
pins — pin	as ma — not yet
skog — snake	a ses — horse
piz — pea	akw bi — rum
nbis — little water	a wip — pith
pigs — hog	a la — or
moz — moose	ap les — apple
kwat — cup	ak ikw — seal

as ban — raccoon
 al wa — almost
 ki kōn — field
 ko wa — pine tree
 ki zos — sun
 kda hla — it sinks
 ka ia — thick milk
 kchim li — chimney
 kchin bes — great lake
 psan ba — full
 psa nikw — black squirrel
 sig wit — widower
 ska hla — raw hide
 te go — wave
 ski bakw — green leaf
 ska wakw — fresh meat
 mska ta — lily root
 msko da — prairie
 kzab da — hot
 ab on — bed
 as kan — horn
 al akws — star
 al ikws — pismire
 am kwon — spoon
 ag askw — woodchuck
 a zip — sheep
 ak sen — ox
 a kwan — bitter, acrid
 kas ko — crane
 pe laz — pigeon
 kas ta — how many times
 ka oz — cow
 ka akw — gull
 kō jo — vein

kchi tūkw — great river
 ki zokw — day
 wō wan — an egg
 wa bi — buttock
 wi bit — tooth
 wdel li — shoulder
 wūch ol — nose
 wig bi — stringy bark
 wle guan — wing
 wa japkw — root
 wcha too — sinewy
 wskat gua — forehead
 wli gen — good
 wi noz — onion
 wō bi — white
 wa guan — heel
 wūt tep — head
 wta wakw — ear
 wsi sūkw — eye
 wdo lo — kidney
 wig wōm — house, camp
 wa dap — root to sew with
 Wdō wō — Autawa Indian
 wūt tūn — mouth
 wji ia — belonging to
 wlo gas — leather string
 wla nikw — fisher
 wikw kwa — thigh
 wa chil — oak nut
 wha gawk — a scalp
 wha ga — body
 wpa nak — lights
 wa laskw — husk
 wōl kaa — hollow place

wzŭkw na — tail	pa gon — nut
wi zi — gall, bile	a chi — also
wō boz — elk	ngon ia — old
wōkw ses — fox	mō gis — monkey
wi os — flesh	wdŭp kwan — hair
ma wia — better	wa ji — for, to
sog mō — chief	sō ga — lobster
a wan — air	piz wat — good for nothing
ki zi — already	klō gan — door
msi wi — largely	tip wa bel — pepper
wski a — new	ska wō gan — standing
sikw hla — hail	skip wō gan — eating raw
kwa nak — length	chi tō ba hi gan — a wedge
ta bat — enough	chi ba gi nō guat — looks very
mat guas — rabbit	bad
mkwi gen — red	chi ba i skwet ta — ignis fatuus
tau bō gan — large trough	chi git wa hi gan — razor
tlap sō bi — trap chain	pi mi zig ni gan — withe
ska hō gan — a forked post	pok ja na hwi ka — stumpy
wlag zi — bowels	psakw dam ni mo zi — black-
wa jo — mountain	berry bush
wji gon — desolate camp	tbō bak hi gan — pair of scales,
wdol ka — breast, stomach	steelyard
wi ka — fat	ska mon ta hi gan — corn meal
wlō da — hot weather	skas kwat si gan — green dye
wō lakw — hole	a lo ka wō gan — a work, la-
wja kwam — but end	bor
wlōm ka — fine grainy	al nō ba wō gan — human na-
wski gen — young vegetable	ture, birth
wzi dakw — handle	sa nō ba wō gan — manhood
wne kikw — otter	a za wa skwi gen — square
wa gin — wagon	a ba kwa wō gan — act of cov-
pil tal — lead	ering with a roof
kchi ia — aged person	a ses si ga mikw — stable

am kwə ni no da — spoon basket	pa pi tom kə gan — a play- thing
a ses wə bi al — harness	nkes kog wə gan — nightmare
a za tə i wi — backwards	ni mat gua hi gan — a fork
kin ja mes wə gan — majesty	no da hla go kat — black- smith
ka dos mo wə gan — act of drinking, a drink	no ji mə ni kat — silversmith
kba hod wi ga mikw — jail	no ji pak si kat — box maker
ki wi tam wə gan — hint	no da wig hi gat — notary, writer
ki ta das wə gan — act of sharpening by grinding	no ji na mas kat — fisher
ki no ho ma sin — preaching	no da ma guə gan — spear
kin ja mes sis kwa — queen	o lə wat si gan — blue dye
ka o zi ga mikw — barn	ə do lib iə gan — oar
ka wzo wah di gan — sleigh	po da woz win no — counsel- lor
ka sij wa hi gan — dish towel	po da waz wə gan — council
po da wa wə gan — act of blowing	mos kwal dam wə gan — an- ger
pə lə ba wə gan — pride	mi ga ka wə gan — act of fighting
piz wa gi zo — he reads for nothing	mka za wat si gan — copper- as
pi da hla guə gan — scabbard	si gua na hi gan — skim-milk
pkwes sa ga hi gan — key	tmo kwa ta hi gan — sword
pə ba tam wə gan — religion	les sa ga hi gan — trunk
pə ba tam win no — religious person	wi la wig win no — rich per- son
pa pa hwij wi ia — tin	
pa pa hwij wi jo — tin basin	

INDIAN TREATIES.

AT Portsmouth, in her Majty's Province of New Hampshire, in New England, the thirteenth day of July, in the twelfth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the faith, &c. [1713]

THE SUBMISSION AND AGREEMENT OF THE EASTERN INDIANS.

WHEREAS for some years last past We have made a breach of our Fidelity and Loyalty to the Crowns of Great Britain, and have made open Rebellion against her Majty's Subjects, the English inhabitants in the Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and other of her Majty's Territories in New England, and being now sensible of the miseryes which We & our people are reduced thereunto thereby, We whose names are here subscribed, being Delegates of all the Indians belonging to Norrigawake, Narrakamegoek, Amascontooog, Pigwocket, Penecook, & to all other Indian Plantations situated on the Rivers of St. Johns, Penobscot, Kenybeck, Amascogon, Saco, & Merimack, & all other Indian Plantations lying between the s^d Rivers of St. Johns and Merimack, Parts of her Majty's Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, within her Majty's Sovereignty, having made application to his Excellency, Joseph Dudley, Esq^{re}, Captain General & Govern^r in Chief in and over the s^d Provinces, That the Troubles which we have unhappily raised or occasioned against her Majty's subjects, the English, & ourselves, may cease & have an end, & that we may enjoy her Majty's Grace & Favor, and each of us Respectively, for ourselves & in the name & with the free consent of all the Indians belonging to the several Rivers and places

aforesaid, & all other Indians within the s^d Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, hereby acknowledging ourselves the lawfull subjects of our Sovereign Lady, Queen Anne, and promising our hearty Subjection & Obediance unto the Crown of Great Britain, doe solemnly Covenant, promise, & agree to & with the s^d Joseph Dudley, Esq., Govern^r, and all such as shall hereafter be in the place of Capt. General and Govern^r in Chief of the aforesaid Provinces or territories on her Majty's behalf, in manner following. That is to say :

That at all times forever, from and after the date of these presents, we will cease and forbear all acts of hostility toward all the subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and not to offer the least hurt or violence to them or any of them in their persons or estates, but will honor, forward, hold, & maintain a firm & constant amity & friendship with all the English, and will not entertain any Treasonable Conspiracy with any other Nation to their Disturbance.

That her Majty's Subjects, the English, shall & may peaceably & quietly enter upon, improve, & forever enjoy, all and singular their Rights of Land & former Settlements, Properties, & possessions, within the Eastern Parts of the s^d Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, together with all the Islands, Islets, Shoars, Beaches, & Fisheries within the same, without any molestation or claims by us or any other Indians, And be in no wais molested, interrupted, or disturbed therein. Saying unto the s^d Indians their own Grounds, & free liberty for Hunting, Fishing, Fowling, and all other their Lawful Liberties & Privileges, as on the Eleventh day of August, in the year of our Lord God One thousand six hundred & ninety-three.

That for mutual Safety & Benefit, all Trade & Commerce which hereafter may be allowed betwixt the English & Indians shall be in such places & under such management &

regulations as shall be stated by her Majty's Governments of the s^d Provinces respectively. And to prevent mischiefs & inconveniencies the Indians shall not be allowed, for the present, & until they have liberty from the respective Governments, to come near to any English Plantations or Settlements on this side of Saco River.

That if any Controversy or Difference at any time hereafter happen to arise betwixt any of the English or Indians, for any real or supposed wrong or injury done on the one side or the other, no Private Revenge shall be taken by the Indians for the same, but proper application shall be made to her Majty's Government, upon the place, for remedy thereof, in our Course of Justice, We hereby submitting ourselves to be ruled & Governed by her Majty's Laws, & desire to have the protection & benefit of the same.

We confess that we have, contrary to all faith and justice, broken our articles with Sr William Phipps, Governour, made in the year of our Lord God 1693, and with the Earl of Bellemont, Governr, made in the year of our Lord God 1699, And the assurance we gave to his Excellency, Joseph Dudley, Esq^{re}, Governor, in the years of our Lord God 1702, in the month of August, and 1703, in the month of July, notwithstanding we have been well treated by the s^d Governors; and we resolve for the future not to be drawn into any perfidious Treaty or Correspondence, to the hurt of any of the subjects of her Majty the Queen of Great Britain, and if we know of any such we will seasonably reveal it to the English.

Wherefore, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, Delegates for the several tribes of the Indians, belonging unto the River of Kenybeck, Amarascogen, St. Johns, Saco, & Merrimac, & parts adjacent, being sensible of our great offence & folly in not complying with the afores^d Submission & agreements, and also of the sufferings & mischiefs that

we have thereby exposed ourselves unto, do, in all humble & submissive manner, cast ourselves upon her Majty's mercy for the pardon of all our past rebellions, hostilities, and Violations of our promises, praying to be received unto her Majty's Grace & Protection. And for & on behalfe of ourselves, and of all other the Indians belonging to the several Rivers and places afores^d, within the Sovereignty of her Majty of Great Britain, do again acknowledge & profess our hearty and sinceer obedience unto the Crown of Great Britain, and do solemnly renew, ratify, and confirm all & every of the articles & agreements contained in the former and present submission.

This Treaty to be humbly laid before her Majty, for her ratification and farther orders. In Witness whereof, We, the Delegates afores^d, by name, Kireberuit, Iteansis, and Jackoit, for Penobscot, Joseph and Eneas, for St. Johns, Waracansit, Wedaranaquin, and Bomoseen, for Kennebeck, have hereunto set our hands & seals, the day and year first above written.

SIGNED, SEALED; & DELIVERED

IN THE PRESENCE OF

J Redknapp
Geo. Vaughan
Shadrach Walker
W Dudley
Edmund Quiney

Signum



QUALEBEENEWES.

Spencer Phipps
 Bridget
 Sam. Moody

Signum

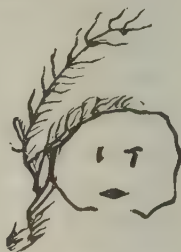


WARRAKANSIT.

Samuel Lynde
 Richard Saltonstall
 Josiah Willard

Signum

Henry Somerby
 Thos Lechmese



BOMOSEEN.

Joseph Miller Junr.

Jos. Lloyd
 James Alfred
 Jos. Remington
 John Gillman

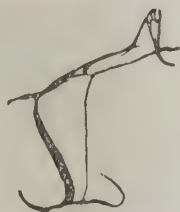
Signum



WEDARANAQUIN.

Stephen Minot
Jonathan Pollard
Geo: Lafayette

Signum

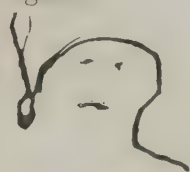


ENEAS.

Wibunga
John Leighton
Peter Martin
John Goo
Sind Gerseth
Robert Carver

Jonathan Shing

Signum

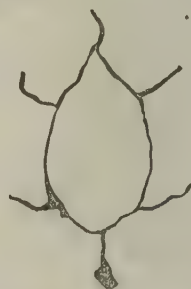


ITEANSIS.

Stepⁿ Eastwick
Nathl Rogers.
Jn^o Nowmarch
G^r Henry Lynt

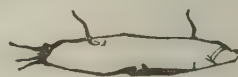
Jabez Fitch
 Sam^{el} Moody
 Jer^m. Wife
 John Karnard
 Nicholas Sever
 Sam^{el}. Tuttle
 Cha. Story, Secy. of N.H.
 James Lismore
 Richard Waldron
 Thos. Sheppard
 John Penhallow
 Geo. Huntington
 Sam^{el}. Plisted
 John Newman
 James Jeffry

Signum



JACKOIT.

Signum



JOSEP.

At Portsmouth, in her Maj^{ty}'s Province of New Hampshire, in New England, the 28th Day of July, in the thirteenth year of our Sovereign Lady Anne, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. [1714]

The several Articles of the foregoing sheet, after a long Conference with the Delegates of the Eastern Indians, were read to them, & the sense & meaning thereof explained by two faithful, sworn Interpreters, and accordingly signed by every of the Sachems and Delegates that were not present, & had not signed the last year.

In the Presence of his Excellency the Governour, and his Excellency General Nicholson, & the Gentlemen of Her Maj^{ty}'s Councils for the Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay & New Hampshire, & other Gentlemen.

SIGNED, SEALED, & DELIVERED

IN PRESENCE OF US,

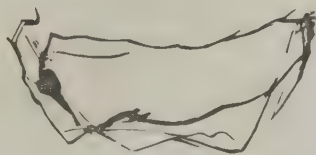
John White

PEQUARET

Signum.

Mr. Bunker

WEEBENOOSE

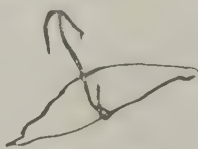


Signum.

Edm. Coffe

CATERRAMOGGUS

Habijah Savag



Signum.

Bridger

M: Burchfield NEGUSCAWIT



Signum.

John Ishyly

Edward Blackett

PIERRE ABINNAWAY.



Signum.

Tho: Plaisted

Marcavenc

SCAWWEASE



Signum.

Benning Wentworth

NUCTUNGUS



Signum.

Mauls

QUINNAWUS



Signum.

John Rogers

QUIREBOOSET



Signum.

John Denison

JOSEPH



Signum.

Rich: Rice

John Lambton

Wm Cooper

ADDEAWANDO.



Signum.

Ester Platch

SEGUNCEWICK



Signum.

Thos: Legard

KISSURAGUNNIT



Signum.

Charles Frosh

PITTAURISQUANNE



Signum.

CÆSAR MOXUSSON



Signum.

ERIXIS



Signum.

ESTIEN



Signum.

WENEMOET



Signum.

WOHONUMBAMET



Signum.

SANBODDIES



Signum.

TREATY OF 1717.

Georgetown, on Arrowsick Island, in his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, the 12th Day of August 1717, in the fourth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

We, the Subscribers, being Sachems and Chief men of the several Tribes of Indians belonging to Kennebeck, Penobscut, Pegwackit, Saco, and other, the Eastern Parts of his Majesty's Province afores^d, having had the several Articles of the foregoing Treaty distinctly read and Interpreted to us by a Sworn Interpreter at this time, do Approve of, Recognize, Ratify, and Confirm all and every the said Articles, (excepting only the *fourth* and *fifth* articles, which relate to the restraint and limitation of Trade and Commerce, which is now otherwise managed.)

And whereas, some rash and inconsiderate Persons amongst us, have molested some of our good fellow Subjects, the English, in the Possession of their Lands, and otherwise illtreated them; — We do disapprove & condemn the same, — and freely consent that our English friends shall possess, enjoy & improve all the Lands which they have formerly possessed, and all which they have obtained a right & title unto, Hoping it will prove of mutual and reciprocal benefit and advantage to them & us, that they Cohabit with us.

In testimony and perpetual memory whereof, We have hereunto set our hands & seals, in behalf of ourselves and of the several Tribes of Indians that have delegated us to appear for, & represent them the day and year aforementioned.

NUDGGUMBOIT	×	Sign.	} <i>Kennebeck.</i>
ABISSANEHRAW	×	Sign.	
UMGUINNAWAS	×	Sign.	

AWOHAWAY	×	Sign.	} <i>Kennebeck.</i>
PAQUAHARET	×	Sign.	
CÆSAR	×	Sign.	
LEREBENUIT	×	Sign.	} <i>Penobscut.</i>
OHANUMBAMES	×	Sign.	
SEGUNKI	×	Sign.	
ADEAWANDO	×	Sign.	} <i>Pegwackit.</i>
SCAWESO	×	Sign.	
MOXUS	×	Sign.	} <i>Kennebeck.</i>
BOMMAZEEN	×	Sign.	
CAPT. SAM	×	Sign.	
NAGUCAWEN	×	Sign.	
SUMMEHAWIS	×	Sign.	
WEGWARUMENET	×	Sign.	
TERRAMUGGUS.	×	Sign.	
SABADIS	×	Sign.	} <i>Ammarascoggin.</i>
SAM HUMPHRIES	×	Sign.	

SIGNED, SEALED, & DELIVERED, IN PRESENCE OF

AUGUSTIN MOXUS SON

W. Dudley
Geyer &


Sign.

William Little
Jas. H. H. H.

SAROME.


Sign.

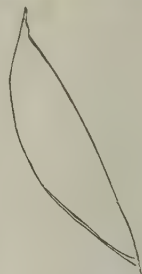
Joseph Miller Junr.

James Parsons

FRANCOIS XAVIER

John. M. Mott
Joshua Winslow
Peregrine Bradford

Sam. Adams



Sign.

Theodore Atkinson

W. L. Ray

MEGONUMBA

John Penhallow
John Denison



Sign.

TOTEMS.

The figures or emblems connected with the signatures of the Indians are called, in the language of the Algonquins, *Totems*; and are the distinguishing marks or signs of the clans or tribes into which the various nations are divided. They are not the personal emblems of the chiefs, although in signing treaties they employ them as their sign manual. Each tribe or clan had its emblem, consisting of the figure of some bird, beast, or reptile, and is distinguished by the name of the animal which it has assumed as a device, as Wolf, Hawk, Tortoise. To different totems, says Parkman in his "Conspiracy of Pontiac," attach different degrees of rank and dignity; and those of the Bear, the Tortoise, and the Wolf are among the first in honor. Each man is proud of his badge, jealously asserting its claim to respect. The use of the totem prevailed among the southern, as well as the northern tribes; Mr. Parkman says that Mr. Gallatin informed him, that he was told by the chief of a Choctaw deputation at Washington, that in their tribe were eight totemic clans, divided into two classes of four each.

Mr. Parkman says again, in the work above cited, page 9, "But the main stay of the Iroquois polity was the system of *totemship*. It was this which gave the structure its elastic strength; and but for this, a mere confederacy of jealous and warlike tribes must soon have been rent asunder by shocks from without, or discord from within. At some early period the Iroquois must have formed an individual nation; for the whole people, irrespective of their separation into tribes, consisted of eight totemic clans; and the members of each clan, to what nation soever they belonged, were mutually bound to one another by those close ties of fraternity which mark this singular institution. Thus the five nations of the confederacy were bound together by an eight-fold band; and to this hour their slender remnants cling to one another with invincible tenacity."

W.

ARTICLE XI.

THE INDIANS OF HUDSON'S BAY,
AND
THEIR LANGUAGE;

SELECTED FROM

UMFREVILLE'S "PRESENT STATE OF HUDSON'S BAY,"

BY

W. M. WILLIS.

THE INDIANS OF HUDSON'S BAY.

As this society is endeavoring to collect and preserve the remains of Indian dialects, for the purposes of comparison and to throw light generally upon Indian archæology, it seemed to me that a few facts taken from Umfreville's "Present State of Hudson's Bay" would aid in this useful undertaking. Edward Umfreville was eleven years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and four years in the Canada fur trade; in 1790, he published in London a work under the above title, containing the result of his observations, with a brief account of the customs and languages of five Indian tribes inhabiting the coasts of Hudson's Bay, in latitude from fifty-five to sixty north; that is, about York Fort and Churchill's River.

He says: "The Hudson's Bay Indians were originally tall, properly proportioned, strongly made, and of as manly an appearance as any people whatever. This, however, was before their commerce with Europeans had enervated and debased their minds and bodies, by introducing spirituous liquors among them and habituating them to severe courses of drinking. * * * They are very superstitious; they allow that there is a good being; he is called *Kitch-e-man-e-to*, or the Great Chief. They further say there is an evil being, who is always plaguing them; they call him *Whit-ti-co*.

"The Indians' method of dividing the time is by numbering the nights elapsed, or to come; thus, if he is asked how long he has been on his journey, he will answer, 'so many nights.' From this nocturnal division, they proceed to the lunar or monthly division, reckoning twelve of these in the year, all of which are expressive of some remarkable event or appearance. For instance, —

"*January*, they call Kee-sha pan-ur-te-can-um, by reason of the cold weather found at this time.

"*February*, Sha-peshem, or the old moon.

"*March*, Mee-kee-su a-peshem, the eagle moon, because these birds visit their coasts in this month.

"*April*, Nis-cau-peshem, the goose moon.

"*May*, Atheek-a-peshem, the frog moon.

"*June*, Opineou-a-peshem, because birds are laying their eggs.

"*July*, Opus-cou-a-peshem, because the geese moult their feathers.

"*August*, Opo-ho-a-peshem, because the birds are beginning to fly.

"*September*, Wus-ker-ho-a-peshem, because the deer then shed their horns.

"*October*, We-sac-a-peshem, the rutting season of the deer.

"*November*, As-kut-ta-te-su-a-peshem, the rivers are frozen.

"*December*, Pou-watch-e-can-a-fish-a-peshem, the severe frost makes the brush fall from the pine trees.

"Their method of computing numbers is chiefly by decades, as two tens, three tens, &c. If they reckon any large numbers, a skin or stick is laid down for every ten, and afterwards tied in a bundle for an aggregate of the whole."

Let us compare the above names of the months with those used by the Abnakis, as furnished by Father Vetro-

mile, the Indian Patriarch, in his "Alnambay Uli Awikhi-gan," Indian Good Book. He says:

"The Indians commence the year from the new moon preceding Christmas; they count the month by moons, and the first day of each new moon is the first day of the month. As in some years there are thirteen moons, then the Indians skip the moon between July and August, and they call it *Abonamwikizoo*s, let this moon go.

"*January*, Onglusamwessit, it is very hard to get a living; this was formerly called *Mekwas'que*, the cold is great; but after they were deprived of their rich settlements on the Kennebec, it is called as above.

"*February*, Taquask'nikizoo's, Moon in which there is crust on the snow.

"*March*, Pnhòdamwikizoo's, Moon in which the hens lay.

"*April*, Amusswikizoo's, Moon in which we catch fish.

"*May*, Kikkaikizoo's, Moon in which we sow.

"*June*, Muskoskikizoo's, Moon in which we catch young seals.

"*July*, Atchittaikizoo's, Moon in which the berries are ripe.

"*August*, Wikkaikizoo's, Moon in which is a heap of eels on the sand.

"*September*, Montchewadokkikizoo's, Moon in which are herds of moose, bears, &c.

"*October*, Assabaskwats, there is ice on the borders.

"*November*, Abonomhsswikizoo's, Moon in which the frost fish come.

"*December*, Ketchikizoo's, the long moon. Kizoo's is the term for moon, the other parts of the compound words are the qualifying terms."

Those Indians from whom the peltries are obtained are known to us by the following names, viz:—The *Ne-heth-aw-a*, the *Assinee-Poetuc*, the *Fall Indians*, the *Sussee Indians*, the *Black-Foot*, the *Paegan*, the *Blood Indians*.

The *Ne-heth-aw-a* are scattered over a very extensive country. I am of opinion, that the *Ochipawa* Indians described by Carver, and inhabiting the countries south-eastward, sprung from the same original stock with the *Neheth-awas*. Their language corresponds, and they live promiscuously and on friendly terms with each other.

They divide the year into thirteen moons, all expressive of some remarkable event at the time. The first moon in the following list came in on the twelfth of December, 1784, and was called by them

Pou-arch-e-kin-e-shish, from the wind blowing the brush from the pine trees.

Ke-sha-peshem, the old moon.

Me-ke-su-a-peshem, the eagle moon.

Nis-cau-peshem, goose moon.

A-theck-a-peshem, frog moon.

O-pin-e-ou-wa-o-peshem, time for birds laying their eggs.

O-bas ka-wa-ho-a-peshem, the fledging of birds.

O-pus-ko-a-peshem, the moulting of birds.

O-po-ho-a-peshem, the time of birds taking their flight.

O-noch-a-ha-to-a-peshem, rutting season of animals.

O-poon-a-ha-to-a-peshem, rutting season over.

Cus-cut-ta-no-a-peshem, time of rivers freezing.

A-theck-a-peu-a-peshem, trees covered with ice and snow.

The *Assinee Poetuc*, or *Stone Indians*, are said to have been a portion of the *Naudawissees* on the *Mississippi*, mentioned in Carver's travels. The *Black-Foot*, *Paegan*, and

Blood Indians, though divided into three tribes, are all one nation, speak the same language, and have the same customs.

The following table presents the definition of words of four tribes:—

<i>English.</i>	<i>Ne-heth-a-wa.</i>	<i>Assinee Poetic.</i>	<i>Fall Indians.</i>	<i>Black Foot.</i>
An eye	She-shic	Ister	Nun-nec-so-on	Wap-pis-pey
p'r of stockings	metas	uce-ker.	nun-nor-tor	at-chis
shirt	pau-pau-ke-wi- an-a-saugi	uke-no-sis-o- bun	ne-weed-thu-it	e-stoke-so-char- sim
knife	mo-co-man	meen	warth	es-to-un
tobacco pipe	wus-pwog-an	chun-nobe	pe-chou-on	ar-qui-in-e-man
hat	ta-tus-tin	wap-pau	ti-u-it-te-tur	arshe-mo-gan
pair of shoes	mes-ke-sin-er	hump	nub-o-on-er	atch-ce-kin
tobacco	shees-tem-mou	chan-dee	chees-ou-on	pis-tar-can
rum	sku-ta-wap	puc min-ne-wong	nuts	o-key
dog	attim	shong	hudth-er	ame-tou
fire	scuta	pate	u-sit-ter	is-chey
arrow	at-tuce-er	wau-hin-dip	utceee	ap-pis-sey
bow	au-chap-pey	in-tar-seep	bart	kits-nar-mi
beads	me-ke-sue	o-ay	can-ar-ti-u	com-on-e-cris- to-man
cloth	man-ne-to-a-	shin-nunte	na-odth-i-u	shic-a-pis-chey
one	pi-ac	[gan o-jin	kar-ci	to-kes-cum
two	ne-shu	nomb	necce	nar-to-kes-cum
three	nis-to	yarmin	narce	no-hokes-cum
four	na-ou	tope	ne-an	ne-swe-um
five	ne-an-an	starpt	yan-tune	ne-sit-twi
six	un-coot-a-wash-	sharp	ne-te-ar-tuce	nay
seven	tapuco	[ic shar-co	ne-sar-tuce	kitz-ic
ten	metartut	wa-kee-chem	met-tar-tuce	kee-pay

These words bear no resemblance to the language of the Abnakis, the Indians of Maine; from which it may be inferred that their origin is distinct. Compare, for instance, the Abnaki term for tobacco, oudaman, or as the English would write it, wudaman, with the foregoing; also, shirt, *antoura hanoua*; also the numerals, Abnaki, one, *pezakan*,

two, niss, three, jeou, six, nakoudas, ten, mtara; this last comes nearer to some of those dialects. So does the Abnaki for fire, *skoutar*, which seems to be the same with the Ne-heth-a-wa. As that tribe came from the Mississippi, it is probably one of the Lenni-Lenapi family, and is thus connected with the Maine and Canada tribes. The Lenapi language is the most widely extended east of the Mississippi, and is used in various dialects in Canada, and the countries lying south and west of Hudson's Bay. These examples may guide and assist the inquiries of archæologists in this interesting department.

W.

ARTICLE XII.

EXTRACTS

FROM A

MEMOIR OF M. DE LA MOTHE CADILLAC,

1692,

CONCERNING ACADIA AND NEW ENGLAND;

FROM THE ARCHIVES OF PARIS.

TRANSLATED AND COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY BY

JAMES ROBB, M. D.,

PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY, &C., IN KING'S COLLEGE, NEW BRUNSWICK.

MEMOIR OF M. DE LA MOTHE CADILLAC.

THIS memoir was found at Quebec by Dr. Robb, among a mass of papers procured by the Colonial government from the archives of Paris, and translated by him for this Society.

Cadillac was an active partisan of the French government; he was an officer in the army, and at the same time seems to have been familiar with naval affairs. In 1691, Louis XIV. granted to him for his services, an extensive tract of land in Maine, east of Penobscot river, a territory then claimed and occupied by the French, as part of the ancient Province of Acadia. In 1787, his granddaughter, Maria Theresa de Gregoire, and her husband, Bartholomy de Gregoire, made application to Massachusetts for a confirmation of this grant, or an indemnity for its loss. And although they had not the slightest claim upon the State, yet from a universally good feeling which prevailed toward the French people at that time, the government yielded to their request, and granted to them a large tract of land situated in the County of Hancock, embracing the present town of Trenton, and part of the towns of Sullivan, Ellsworth, Hancock, Eden, and Mount Desert, with some adjacent islands, containing about sixty thousand acres. To complete the generosity of the government, as aliens could not then hold lands in the Commonwealth, a special act was passed by the Legislature, Oct. 29, 1787, authorizing the naturalization of them and their three children, Pierre, Nicholas, and Maria.

In February, 1692, Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, in a report to the French minister, proposed to send Cadillac to France, to give intelligence of the condition of his Province and the general state of affairs. The minister, in his reply, desired him to be sent, and added that he "understands him to be the best instructed on plans, soundings, and all observations."

The memoir from which we now present extracts, was communicated to the government, probably, after his return. It contains minute sailing and

pilot directions for the coast and harbors, from the Bay of Fundy, called by the French "Baye Française," to New York, with other statistical information and speculations, which prove him to have been a careful and intelligent observer.

A portion of his memoir, relating to New York, has been published in the ninth volume of "Documents relating to the Early History of New York," procured from Paris by Mr. Broadhead, and edited by Dr. O'Callaghan, a very accurate and learned antiquarian, at the expense of that State.

In 1694, M. Cadillac was employed among the Iroquois Indians, to watch their motions and secure their friendship; he made a full report on that nation to his government the same year.

In June, 1701, he was sent by Calliere, Governor of Canada, with a Jesuit missionary and one hundred Frenchmen, to take possession of Detroit, and then made the first settlement in that place. He was afterwards appointed commander of the fort at Mackinaw, one of the cordon of important military posts established by the French on the frontier, extending in the rear of the English colonies from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico.

The Rev. M. Bobé, Missionary Priest, in a letter to M. De l'Isle, the geographer of the Academy of Sciences, dated Versailles, March 15, 1716, says: "I have a memoir of M. de la Mothe Cadillac, formerly governor of Missilimakinaek (Mackinaw), who says that if St. Peter's River is ascended to its source, they will, according to all appearance, find in the highlands another river leading to the Western Ocean. For the last two years, I torment exceedingly the Governor General, M. Raudot, and M. Duché, to induce them to discover this ocean." (Hist. Mag., Aug. 1859.)

It appears from the various and responsible offices with which Cadillac was entrusted by the French government, that great confidence was placed in his fidelity and good judgment; in every situation he made detailed and able reports concerning the people, the country, and affairs in the midst of which he was placed.

In examining the documents which the State of New York have, with a liberal and wise policy, procured from the depositories of Paris, and given to the public, and other sources, we are surprised by the copious, minute, and constant reports of the French officials, in every department of colonial affairs, to the Home government, on all the subjects which were within the scope of their observation. The manners and customs of the natives, their intercourse with the English colonies, their various movements, the local situation and diversities of the country, through its whole wide extent, and its multifarious resources, were all subjects of special report and comment,

by men who prepared themselves by careful observation and study, to convey full and accurate information.

This marked difference strikes us forcibly, between the English and French colonists, that the former were laboring to build up a country and state of affairs for their own comfort, use, and adornment, while the French seem to have been regarding more the honor and advancement of the mother country. They never seemed to have entertained an idea of independence, or of self government, but were wholly devoted to extending the dominion and glory of France. This may in part account for the very different results of colonization on this continent, to the two nations principally concerned in it.

W.

CADILLAC'S MEMOIR.

PLACES IN MAINE.

*Pesmocady.*¹ — From the mouth of the River St. John to Pesmocady the distance is fourteen leagues. This bay and harbor is good for ships, which can pass in and out of it at all seasons, without being incommoded by ice. To enter the bay you must sail west-north-west. There are two fathoms of water.

Grand Menane. — Opposite this place and five leagues off shore on the north side and two on the south side there is an island called Grand Menane, which is fourteen leagues in circumference.

*Majais.*² — From Pesmocady to Majais it is ten leagues. The entrance of this river is difficult on account of rocks, which are concealed at high water. You must make a north-west course. There are five fathoms of water there.

*Rock off the Coast.*³ — Opposite this river and three leagues out to sea, there is a rock which in good hands would bring in a considerable revenue, by the catching of the seals which, every second year, might be killed to the

¹ Passamaquoddy Bay.

² Machias.

³ Seal Islands.

number of fifteen or sixteen hundred. They go there to drop their young. It is only necessary to strike them on the head with a club; but care must be taken not to slaughter the old ones, lest the supply should totally fail.

Monts Deserts.—From Majais to Monts Deserts it is twenty leagues. This is an island which is twelve leagues in circumference, and very high and mountainous. It serves as an excellent landmark for ships from Europe, bound either for Port Royal or Boston.

*Doüaquet.*¹—This island is on the north-east side of a river of the same name, which is very beautiful and very wide. There is a rock in the middle of the entrance which is not covered at high tide. As you go in, you perceive first two small and very steep islands. The entrance is safe everywhere. Within there is a basin which is four leagues in circumference, and where there is good anchorage. In entering you must sail south; there are ten fathoms of water.

Mount Desert Harbor.—The harbor of Monts Deserts, or Monts Coupés, is very good and very beautiful. There is no sea inside, and vessels lie, as it were, in a box. There are four entrances. The north-east one is the best; it has nine fathoms of water. In the eastern one, there are fourteen or fifteen; in the south-west one, there are three and a half, but in the channel there is a rock which is sometimes covered by the tide. In the western entrance there are three fathoms and a half, but to enter safely, you must steer west or south-west. Good masts may be got here, and the English formerly used to come here for them. Four leagues north-west and south-east of the Monts Deserts, there is a rock which is not covered at high water.

Although the country of the Canibas, or Abenakis, ought to begin at Doüaquet and go as far as St. George's river,

¹ Frenchman's Bay.

it is, nevertheless, certain that their residence is on the River Kenibek, or Kenibeguy.

Remarks. — It is of consequence that this tribe should not be drawn off to Canada, and for several reasons. The first and strongest is, that they defend Acadia and protect it from the inroads of the English, who have often designed to come and fortify themselves at Pentagoet, and were it not for the Indians, could have done so without any resistance. Thus it is easy to see that they not only defend their own soil and our boundary, but they also attack and destroy their enemies, our neighbors. They completely prevent their forming any settlements upon our shores, and oblige them to abandon their own, and to take refuge in their towns. Besides, it is known that some Iroquois Indians had started, and made some attempts to get to Canada by this route, if they had not been persuaded that the Abenakis would have resisted, and that they ran some risk of a disagreeable reception. La Mananthe (Manhattan), or New York, labored hard for the success of the project, but the Iroquois, although very enterprising, have always got the worst of it in any casual encounter.

They also came at the outbreak of the war, with presents of necklaces for the Abenakis, and desiring either peace or a promise of neutrality, which they have never succeeded in obtaining. It is most important to keep this nation in our interests; the English have done their best to make friends with them, both by promises and presents, but they have made no progress as yet; these Indians have always remained attached to the French, and well for us it is so. The second reason is, that by this means we shall preserve all the advantage of this province, which otherwise would fall to the English. But the strongest argument is, that the enemy, if they found no obstacle in this quarter, would, in ten days' march, appear with their Indian allies on the

southern bank of the river at Quebec, plundering, and making a diversion with great ease to themselves, but very seriously for us.

Pentagoët (Penobscot). — From Monts Deserts to Pentagouet, it is ten leagues. The entrance to this river is narrow. You may anchor between the island and this river. You must sail to the west-south-west of the aforesaid island. There is a rock three-quarters of a league from the shore, and which is to the south west. To enter the river you must steer north. There are six fathoms of water.

River St. George's. — From Pentagouet to the St. George's river, it is eight leagues. This river is not very safe, on account of the numerous rocks. It furnishes excellent oak for shipbuilding. To enter you must steer north-north-west. There are three fathoms of water.

Boundaries. — This river has always served as boundary, from east to west, between the French and English.

Observations. — Although it is easy to see that there are on the coast of Acadia, at least twenty harbors proper for ships of war, I shall not touch upon the smaller ones, lest I should prove tiresome. I may, however, again remark that generally, along this whole shore, codfishing may be very profitably carried on, with the exception, nevertheless, of a part of Bay Française (Bay of Fundy).

Paincuit (Pemaquid). — From the River St. George's to Paincuit, it is seven leagues. This is the first point which is occupied by the English. It is a very wide bay, with good anchorage, but towards the end of the season it is somewhat dangerous with a west or south-west wind, which makes a heavy sea, and there is only five fathoms water. To anchor opposite the fort we must sail close to a rock, which is not dangerous, and head north-east. The anchoring ground is within a musket-shot of the fort, and there is no swell.

This fort was taken in 1688 by the Indians. They put eighty men to death, but gave quarter to the Governor and six of the people, at the request of one of the chiefs, called Mateknando,¹ whose son is now in France.

A great rock, which happened to be close to the fort, was the cause of its capture. The English have, at the present time, repaired this fort, and avoided the error which they committed the first time, in placing it so close to the rock. This was done in 1692, and we learned at Monts Deserts that there are one hundred men in garrison there, and that they are constantly employed at the defenses of the place; that there were six guns mounted there, and that there was a frigate at hand to prevent any interruption from the sea; that the whole was in a good state of defense except on the side next the water, where, as yet, there was little work done. This place is very troublesome to our Indians, and on that account should be looked upon suspiciously by the government.

Meniguen. — Three leagues to seaward, there is an island called Meniguen (Monhegan). There were about twenty families employed in fishing around this island, but our Indians have made them abandon it.

Pescadouet (Piscataway). — There is, also, Pescadouet; the harbor is pretty good, but there are many reefs five leagues off the coast, and if one was caught in a strong east or north-east wind and embayed here, it would be very dangerous. There are five fathoms and a half of water in this harbor. To enter it, we must head north-north-west. This place supplies plank and boards to the whole country, and also good masts. The Indians might easily interrupt, or even put an end to all this business, if they thought it worth their while, and if they were led by a Frenchman of

¹ Madokawando, father of Baron de St. Castin's wife.

some experience, with a few soldiers or settlers to help him.

I pass over all the little harbors, from Pescadouet to Boston (Boston), to notice only the most important of the forts, the number of their guns, the approximate number of the settlers capable of bearing arms, the diversity of their religion, their commerce, and the productions of the country.

BOSTON.

River of Boston. — The entrance of the Boston river is safe. There are many islands in the bay. At the entrance, we observe an island called *Brosseillant* (Brewster's Island). It is west-north-west. You must pass by the said island to the south-west, when you will see a spit (*une grave*), which you must also sail close to and leave on the starboard side; then put the cap on the north-west and north-north-west. At the entrance there are fifteen fathoms of water. Having gone about three leagues into this river, you find a small island on which the fort or castle is situated (Castle Island). There are sixteen guns mounted, and about sixty men in garrison. The sixteen guns are low down, on a level with the water, without embrasures. They say that there are now forty guns there. At this island there are two passages. In entering you must keep that on the starboard side. Opposite the fort there are six fathoms of water. It would not be prudent to attack the town, without first taking possession of the fort, (Monsieur de La Mothe will give the plan of it in another place, as well as that of the town, and which will, perhaps, be followed) which is three-quarters of a league from the town, as many think, but I consider it to be only a good half league.

The anchorage is between the two; all sorts of ships may anchor there; the holding is good, and the bottom is

of mud. There are five and a half fathoms of water, and seven on the north side. You may anchor in all safety within a cable's length of the town. There is a wooden quay, and ships may rest on the bottom, which is nearly dry at low water, so that in unloading, the freight may very easily be stowed away in the stores.

Guns. — There is a battery at each end of the quay; one of them mounts twelve, and the other seven guns. It is said that there are other two batteries, one of which is of sixteen, and the other of twelve guns.

Situation of Baston (Boston). — This town is built at the base of two little hills, on the south side, and on the north it abuts upon the shore of the bay or river. Two-thirds of the town are of wood, the remainder of brick or stone. The houses are fine and very clean. It is occupied by merchants, sailors and artisans. There are very few people of quality in it. It is rather rich in money and merchandise.

Troops. — There are here, at present, fifteen hundred men bearing arms, and in four or five days, by calling in those who are in the country, they may make out six thousand men. They are republicans in their heart, and sworn enemies of the government (*de la domination*).

Religion. — There are six different places of worship, and six different religions in actual practice. Of these, two have set off from the Anglican Church, and are called Non-Conformists, one of Anabaptist, one of Quakers, and another of French Protestant refugees.

Commerce. — Their principal commerce is the fishery, which is carried on along the coasts of Acadia; also a few beaver skins and furs. They build ships and make lumber, both of which are taken to Europe, and the Barbadoes Islands. In their adventures they make a common purse, or stock. Every one of the partners takes with him whatever

he pleases, and on the return of the vessel, they make an equal division of the profit or loss. In this way there is always something to speculate upon in every vessel, and then they have much correspondence and commerce all over the world.

Natural Productions. — They cultivate corn and rye, but little wheat, and they seldom have provision sufficient for their own subsistence. They send for it to Mananthe (New York) and Long Island.

They have an infinite number of cattle, sheep, horses, and other stock, and many kinds of fruit.

Their policy towards the natives. — They have taught their own tongue to many of the Indians; then they have given them small pensions, on condition that they will likewise teach it to their friends, and to the young. Afterwards they have taught them to read and write, gradually increasing their allowances according to the care they may have taken in educating the others. This is pursued so steadily, that already many of these Indians have forgotten their own tongue, and have become well acquainted with holy scripture; they have ministers in their schools, and are become more sagacious and more religious than the English themselves, to whom they remain very submissive, from a spirit of religion, and which, moreover, is the strongest pillar of their colony. I believe it would be very useful, if the missionaries among our Indians were to observe the same custom. The governors who have been, and who are in this country (Acadia), have always intended to follow the above-mentioned plan, but as yet they have never actually put it in practice. I think I understand the mystery, but some other may reveal it. At all events, it is certain that there is nothing so inconvenient as to see people who come every day to speak to the governors, and to whom no audience could be given if there was not a missionary at hand

to serve as interpreter, and who very often adds to, or subtracts something from what is said on either side, as suits his own interest. But what is most unfortunate, is that these people, who are very useful to us in time of war, are for most of the time very useless, because neither the officers, nor soldiers, nor settlers know how to command them, as they cannot speak in their own tongue, nor can they obey our directions, as they know not ours.

Charlestown. — On the other side of the river of Boston, on the north side, there is a small suburb or town, called Charlestown. There are, on the banks of the river, twelve guns not set in embrasures, and which might be brought to bear upon vessels in the stream. This village is situated at the base of an eminence which might be disadvantageous to the city, for it would not be difficult to take it from the land side. The disembarkation of troops might easily be effected at a place which is about half a league distant. It is not so well fortified, but that by getting possession of these guns they might be carried to the top of the hill, which commands the whole of Boston, and then the whole city might be ruined and demolished without difficulty or danger. It is distant from Boston about a gunshot only.

Cambridge. — At the distance of three-quarters of a league further up this river, or bay, there is another village called Cambridge (Cambridge), where there is a college or university for the instruction of youth.

Salem. — Salem is another little town, at the distance of five leagues from Boston. It is not fortified; it is the principal residence of the fishermen. Large vessels cannot get within half a league of it.

The attack and capture of Boston does not appear to be less necessary than that of New York, and for the reasons which I gave in 1680, and which I shall refer to afterwards.

Sailing out of Boston. — In sailing out of Boston river you must head east, and after getting out, if you wish to go to New York, you must sail twenty-five leagues to sea, or to the south of Cape Cod, on account of a bay in which there is only five or six feet of water. It runs north-west and south-east of Boston. Nevertheless, there is a channel between the bar and the shore, but this route is not a safe one. You must take care not to get too much embayed in this bay, for if an east or north-east wind should come on, it is almost impossible to get off the lee shore, in which there is no harbor. By the accounts of the English, there are some such disasters here every year.

Of Martinvigners (Martha's Vineyard). — After doubling this cape, you must pass to seaward of an island called *Martinvigners*, on which there are several settlements and many Indians. There are eight hundred now there.

Of Rodeillant (Rhode Island). — I pass in silence over several small islands; after the last, I shall mention only two, which are placed to the east of Long Island. You must pass between this one and the other two, to reach Rhode Island. The entrance into this passage is good, and you may almost touch the shore with the end of the bowsprit without danger. There are but two *corps de garde* at the entrance, each of which mounts but two guns. The town is two leagues and a half within the island, and on the margin of the water. It is partly built of bricks. The Governor is a Quaker. Most of the inhabitants are either Quakers or Jews. There are two hundred men who bear arms. In entering you must keep a north-north-west course. There are ten fathoms of water. They say that the settlers own two hundred thousand sheep or lambs.

As this is the retreat of the pirates, and the magazine of the privateers of New England, it ought to be chastised and ravaged, whereby this colony would sustain a loss of

more than four millions. I should be glad to have the honor of being associated with this enterprise. I undertake to promise ample success.

Long Island. — From Rhode Island to New York, it is fifty leagues. The passage between Long Island and the main is good. The island is forty leagues in length. It lies east and west, but the channel must be well known, inasmuch as there is one place where the river is very narrow, and where a ship can only pass at high water, on account of a whirlpool, which they call Hell Gate, or the Gate of Hell. The safest way is to pass to the south of Long Island, which is settled almost from one end to the other. It produces a prodigious quantity of wheat.

ARTICLE XIII.

THE VOYAGE OF CAPT. GEO. WEYMOUTH

TO THE

COAST OF MAINE IN 1605:

AN ATTEMPT TO SHOW THAT THE ISLANDS ON WHICH HE LANDED,
AND THE RIVER WHICH HE EXPLORED, WERE THE
ST. GEORGE'S OF THE PRESENT DAY.

BY

GEORGE PRINCE, OF BATH, ME.

WEYMOUTH'S VOYAGE IN 1605.

THE controversy of Kennebec vs. Penobscot, in relation to the discoveries of Capt. George Weymouth in 1605, has attracted much attention; and the close observer cannot have failed to notice the numerous obstacles pointed out by each party, as applicable to their opponents' theory, and thus been led to the inevitable conclusion, that the grounds taken by both parties are equally untenable, and that it was neither the Kennebec nor Penobscot River which was explored by Weymouth. Yet Weymouth must have discovered some river on the coast of Maine, whose mouth was near Monhegan. Let us see, then, if any other river will answer better to Rosier's description than either the Kennebec or Penobscot.

The writer of this article, in a letter to Cyrus Eaton, Esq., of Warren, dated in August, 1858, and published in the Lincoln Advertiser, Thomaston, has endeavored to show that "St. George's River" is the only one that will answer to Rosier's account. And it is now proposed to follow up that theory, and show that St. George's River will conform to that discovered by Weymouth, in almost every minute particular, and in fact, that the narrative, when applied to that river, is found marvelously correct, when we take into consideration the brief time occupied in its exploration.

Even his conjecture that it "trended almost into the mayne about forty miles," is not far from the fact, while the length of the Kennebec and Penobscot, each over one hundred and sixty miles, is wide of the mark.

We will first endeavor, without being tedious, to show the location of Pentecost Harbor, and afterwards point out some of the objections to the prevailing theories, as applied to the two rivers above named.

It is universally admitted that Weymouth's ship, supposed to have been called the "Archangel," was anchored about a league north of the Island of Monhegan. He arrived there on Saturday, the eighteenth of May, 1605. Rosier says: "From hence we might discern the main land, from the west-south-west to the east-north-east, and a great way (as it then seemed, and we afterwards found it) up into the main, we might discern very high mountains, though the main seemed but low land."

If we place ourselves near Monhegan in clear weather, we shall be at no loss to discover that the "very high mountains" referred to, are no other than the Camden and Union Mountains, which show their lofty heads far inland. Mount Pleasant, or Ragged Mountain, the most elevated, bearing north by east one-half east, just thirty-two miles distant. They are the only conspicuous heights along the coast, and a noted landmark for mariners approaching the land, being visible long before the main land comes into view.

That the White Mountains, as conjectured by Mr. McKeen, are not the ones seen by Weymouth, is evident from the fact that they cannot be approached within three or four miles on tide waters, as were the mountains noticed by that explorer. And again, no harbor for a vessel like the "Archangel" can be found in a "road directly with these mountains," within a distance of seventeen miles, whereas Rosier

says that they went only about "three leagues," and his estimated leagues, in all cases, were very short ones, but little more than two miles. Again, the White Mountains, with an elevation above the level of the sea of six thousand six hundred feet, being distant one hundred and ten miles, could not, on account of the curvature of the earth, be seen from the deck of the Archangel, even with a telescope.¹

Camden and Union Mountains, then, must be the ones referred to, and the islands "in the road directly with the mountains," must be St. George's Islands, seven miles from Monhegan. Let us now refer to the narrative.

"The next day (the nineteenth) being Whitsunday, because we rode too much open to the sea and winds, we weighed anchor about two o'clock, and came along to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in the rode directly with the mountains, about three leagues from the first islands where we had anchored. When we came near to them (sounding all along in good depth), our Captain manned his ship's boat, and sent her before with Thos. Cam, one of his mates, whom he knew to be of good experience, to sound and search between the islands for a place safe for our ship to ride in, which it pleased God to send us far beyond our expectations, in a most safe berth, defended from all winds, in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen, in six, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathoms, upon a clay ooze very tough. We called it Pentecost Harbor, found Eggs larger than Goose Eggs, dug wells, put in one an empty cask, found great quantities of Fish, Lobsters, &c. Here we sat up our crosse to serve in all after times for future discoveries. Wednesday, 22d of May — planted a garden with peas and barley, which in sixteen

¹ See rule for calculating heights of distant mountains, Bowditch's Navigation, page 95.

days grew eight inches above ground, and continued growing half an inch a day. The bigger isle of the harbor, judged about five miles in compass and a mile broad. Among the rocks found large mussels, and in some of them large pearls. The Harbor was open by four several passages. Surveyed the Harbor and Islands adjoining for five or six leagues. Upon one of the Islands (because it had a pleasant sandy cove for small barks to ride in) we landed, and found hard by the shore a pond of fresh water, which flowed over the banks, somewhat overgrown with little shrub trees, and searching up in the isle, we saw it fed with a strong run, which with small labor and little time, might be made to drive a mill. The Captain, on a rock in the midst of the Harbor, observed the height, Latitude, and variation, — made Latitude forty-three degrees twenty minutes, variation, eleven degrees fifteen minutes West."

The twenty minutes of latitude here given is evidently an error; no islands are there, answering at all to the description, and the distance being also too far from Monhegan. It is probably a typographical error, and should read fifty minutes. The latitude off Nantucket, forty-one degrees twenty minutes, having been correct, it is presumed their calculations at these islands were as reliable as when first falling in with the land.

Every thing about St. George's Islands, their distance from Monhegan, their situation in the "road directly with the mountains," their being open by four several passages, the existence of the rock on which the observations were made, the pond of fresh water on Monhegan,¹ with the run which could be made to carry a mill, all substantiate the ground that "Pentecost Harbor" must have been the harbor at the "St. George's Islands," a name given to them by Weymouth, from his own name, his patron's, and that of his

¹ The bed of this pond is yet plainly seen.

country's patron saint; for it is a well known fact that these islands and the river which he discovered have uniformly been known by that appellation ever since the time of Weymouth's exploration. The same name was also given to them by Popham, in his voyage two years after, 1607, who expressly says "they were the islands visited by Weymouth," and furthermore, he found the very cross set up by Weymouth. Strachey, in his account of the voyage, says: "Howbeit before they put from the island, they found a Crosse set up, one of the same which Capt. Weymouth, in his discovery, for all after occasions, left upon this island." He also describes the islands as being several leagues *east* of Pemaquid, and of course they could not be the Boothbay Islands. He furthermore expressly says, that Popham's colony found no trace on the Kennebec of any former visitors, which would be a very singular fact, if Weymouth's party had explored that river but two years before, setting up crosses. A reason urged by some for favoring the theory, is because Capt. Popham's Colony was established at the mouth of that river in 1607. But it must be borne in mind that Capt. Popham first came to anchor at the St. George's Islands, piloted there by the Indian *Skidawarres*, and aided by the directions given by Rosier and Weymouth; that his intentions, originally, were to plant his colony in that neighborhood, but having heard of the more favorable situation of the Kennebec, from Capt. Pring's statement, who had discovered that river the year before, or perhaps from his Indian guide, he concluded to settle at the Kennebec, and accordingly sailed for that locality, "going westward," and calling at Pemaquid on his way, where he met with *Nahanada*, brought out by Capt. Pring. Here *Skidawarres* left him, and, together with his old companion in captivity, *Nahanada*, hastened to the home of his old chief, on the Penobscot, repeatedly urging Capt. Popham to

go to that river. This last circumstance seems to be a strong proof that their home was not at the Kennebec, as is perseveringly urged

Boothbay Harbor, which is contended by some to be "Pentecost Harbor," aside from its being twice the distance given by Rosier, from his first anchorage, will not answer the description in any respect, such as its being in a cluster of islands, open by four several passages. No trace of a pond of fresh water, such as is described, is to be found on Squirrel Island, or on any of the islands adjoining, nor is it in the road with any mountains which could have been seen from their first anchorage.

Having shown, we think, conclusively, that St. George's Island Harbor was Weymouth's Harbor of "Pentecost," it is evident that Kennebec River was not the one explored by Weymouth, for his river "run up towards the high mountains," which we have shown to be the Camden and Union Mountains.

Mr. Belknap's theory of Penobscot River will now be examined, and shown to be equally untenable.

The first idea that the Penobscot was the river in question, arose from the report of Capt. Williams, who was sent to examine the grounds, having with him an abridged and imperfect copy of Rosier's narrative. He readily found the high lands, conspicuous from Monhegan, and was at no loss to fix upon the St. George's Islands as "Pentecost Harbor," but instead of proceeding up St. George's River, he was directed to examine Penobscot River, and see if it would compare with the narrative. Having his mind upon a very large river, he took it for granted that the Penobscot must be the one, not considering that Weymouth had been used to looking upon such rivers as the Thames and the Severn as large rivers, and a river much smaller than the Penobscot might have been considered by him as a

large river. In fact, we have seen that his "large river" was conjectured to be forty miles in length.

Capt. Williams was at a great loss to harmonize the statement of Rosier with the River Penobscot, and finally concluded that these explorers had mistaken the passage from St. George's Isles to Belfast, as a "river, from a mile to half a mile wide"!! but in that conjecture he detracts from those old seaman all credit for knowledge or judgment, for no schoolboy could ever mistake that passage for a river "from a mile to half a mile wide, with six, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathoms water," when the distance between the islands and main is sometimes twenty miles; and for long distances there are no islands, but the passage is entirely open to the sea on the right hand. But even could such a mistake have been made, a boat could not have rowed to Belfast and proceeded up the Penobscot, and returned again in twenty-four hours. There are also wanted "the divers branching streams," the "meadows," the "codde" with its eastern and western entrances, and the "high mountains." This last fact alone undermines the whole structure, for had the explorers ascended, as is conjectured, to Belfast when they landed, these mountains would have been left twenty miles astern, whereas they expressly say that they judged the nearest of the mountains "to have been within one league of them when they landed."

Let us now examine the narrative and compare it with the St. George's River, the entrance to which is distant some six or eight miles from Pentecost Harbor, and running up directly towards the Camden and Union Mountains.

"Tuesday the eleventh of June we passed up into the river," (from Pentecost Harbor), "with our ships, about six and twenty miles, all the way of exceeding beauty and verdure, for (besides without the river, in the channel and sounds about the islands adjoining the mouth thereof, no

better riding can be desired for an infinite number of ships) the river itself, as it runneth up into the main very nigh forty miles, towards the great mountains, beareth in breadth a mile, sometimes three-quarters, and half a mile is the narrowest, where you shall never have under four or five fathoms water hard by the shores, but six, seven, eight, nine, ten fathoms all along, and both sides every half mile very gallant coves, some able to contain almost one hundred sail, where the ground is excellent soft ooze, with a tough clay under for anchor hold, and where ships may lie without cable or anchor, only moored to the shore with a hawser, it floweth, by their judgment, eighteen or twenty feet at high water. Here are made by nature most excellent places as docks, to grave or careen ships of all burdens, secure from all winds." Here we see St. George's River, with its "gallant coves," viz: Turkey Cove, Maple Juice Cove, Teel's Cove, Smalley's Cove, Broad Cove, Hyler's Cove, &c., &c., the river itself running up directly towards Camden Mountains, from a mile to half a mile wide, with its bold shore and deep water, also its excellent places for docks to grave and careen ships. The distance sailed, to be sure, is less than "twenty-six miles," being but eighteen; but it must be remembered that Mr. Rosier's distances are allowed to be overstated; yet how much nearer the mark than the distance from St. George's Islands to Belfast, which is more than fifty miles. Allowance is also to be made for his error in judgment in stating the rise of the river to be "eighteen feet." The rise of the tide in St. George's River is but one or two feet short of the Penobscot, consequently their estimate of the tide does not further Mr. Belknap's theory much.

I place the ships anchored in the river just above the point whereon are the remains of St. George's Fort. The narrative then proceeds:—

"On Wednesday, the twelfth of June, our captain manned

his light horseman with seventeen men, and run up from the ship riding in the river, up to the *codde* thereof, where we landed."

This was the open space or bay, at the turn of the river, in front of Gen. Knox's mansion; just to the west of which they landed, with Marsh's Mountain in full view, distant about two or three miles. "Leaving six to keep the light horseman till our return, ten of us with our shot, and some armed, with a boy to carry powder, and a match, marched up into the country, towards the mountains which we descried at our first falling in with the land; unto some of them the river brought us so near, as we judged ourselves when we landed to have been within a league of them," (this was Marsh's Mountain), "but we marched up about four miles in the main," (heading probably about north by east), "and passed over those hills; and because the weather was parching hot, and our men in their armor not able to travel far and return that night to our ship, we resolved not to pass any farther, being all very weary of so tedious and labor-some a travel. During this travel we come to numerous little runs of fresh water, but the farthest and last we past run into a great stream able to drive a mill." This I suppose to be Oyster River stream.

"We were no sooner aboard our light horseman, returning towards our ship, but we spied a canoe coming from the farther part of the *codde* of the river eastward, which hastened to us, inviting us to their city to the east, the residence of their *bashaba*." This canoe came out of Mill River which empties into the bay or *codde*¹ from the eastward, and was the grand carrying place of the Indians coming

¹ *Codde* is an old Saxon word which signifies a case or pod in which seed is enclosed, and means here probably a narrow bay or indenture into the land.

from the Penobscot Bay and River, where was their great city *Norumbega*, the residence of their *bashaba* or king.

We will now follow the voyagers in their cruise up the river to Warren: "Thursday, the thirteenth of June, at two o'clock in the morning, (because our captain would take the help and advantage of the tide), in the light horseman, with our company well provided and furnished with armor, and that both to offend and defend, we went from our ship up to that part of the river which trended westward to the main to search that, and we carried with us a crosse to erect at the point," (Watson's Point, where they arrived at about three o'clock in the morning) "which — because it was not daylight — we left on the shore until our return back, we set it up in manner as the former," (at Pentecost Harbor), "we then rowed by estimation twenty miles," (this estimation, if intended to give the distance rowed from the ship, is over-estimated one-half; it may be, however, the estimated distance in going and returning, which would not be far in error, allowing the boat to have ascended nearly to Counce's ship-yard), "the goodness and beauty whereof I cannot by relation sufficiently demonstrate. That which I can say, in general, is this: what profit or pleasure soever is described and truly verified in the former part of the river, is wholly doubled in this, for the breadth and depth are such that any ship drawing seventeen or eighteen feet of water may have passed up as far as we went with our light horseman, and by all our men's judgment much farther, because we left it in so good depth and breadth, which is so much more to be estimated of greater worth by how much farther it trendeth up into the main. From each bank of this river are divers branching streams into the main, whereby is offered an unspeakable profit by the conveyance of transportation from place to place. Here we saw great store of fish, some great leaping above the water, which we

judged to be salmon, all along is of an excellent mould of ground, and in that space we went, we had on both sides of the river many plane plots of meadow, some three or four acres, some eight or nine, so as we judged in the whole, between thirty or forty acres of good grass, and where the arms run out into the main, there likewise went a space on both sides of clear grass," (see the mouth of Oyster River), "but the tide not suffering us to make any longer stay — because we were to come back with the tide — thought it best to make return."

Here is a picture of George's River drawn to life, which cannot fail to convince any unprejudiced mind, which is familiar with the river, its islands, and neighboring mountains; and to set this long mooted question forever at rest.

It needs no forced construction of the text, — the scenery, locations, and geography of that section are described just as they are seen at the present day. The highlands, the *codde* with its two streams diverging from it, one "*trending eastward into the mayne*," the other from the "*farther part of the codde eastward*," the breadth and depth of water, the bold shore, coves, &c. The only statements in the narrative — and they are given by the narrator merely as conjectures or estimates — which conflict with the facts as they now exist, are the given distances and the flow of the tide. These estimates, if insisted upon as correct, are as fatal to one theory as the other. Rosier estimates the distance sailed up the river in the vessel at twenty-six miles, and the distance rowed in the light horseman twenty miles further, making forty-six miles in all. The true distance on the St. George's River would have been eighteen miles sailed and ten miles rowed, making an over-estimate of eighteen miles. On the Kennebec, it would have been fourteen miles sailed and eight miles rowed, giving an error of twenty four miles. On the Penobscot, it would have

been fifty miles sailed and eighteen miles rowed, an error in the estimate of forty-two miles. Consequently the narrator's distances when applied to the St. George's River are nearer correct than when applied to either of the other two.

The historian's guess at the flow of the tide, "eighteen or twenty feet," if correct, would oblige us to seek for the true river somewhere in the Bay of Fundy. The flow of the spring tides at the Kennebec is about eight feet, at the St. George's, nine feet, and at Belfast, where Capt. Williams places the anchorage, ten feet.¹

It is, therefore, evident that Rosier's estimates of distances and the rise of the tide were erroneous. That these early explorers should have over-estimated eighteen miles, in sailing and rowing up the St. George's River, while their attention must have been constantly attracted by the beauty, grandeur, and strangeness of the forest scenes, is not to be wondered at, when we remember that Popham, under like circumstances, estimated that he rowed up the Kennebec forty leagues, and back the same day. In every other particular, Rosier's statements and description agree with St. George's River; is it possible, then, that doubts can still linger in the minds of those who have supported other views?

Those writers who have revived the Kennebec theory, discard all of Rosier's statements which conflict with their hypothesis, as intentionally obscure and hyperbolical, and receive only those that by a forced construction can be made to apply to Boothbay Harbor and the Kennebec River, giving as a reason, that Rosier wrote his narrative in that manner, on purpose to mislead subsequent voyagers,

¹ American Almanac for 1832, page 29. Also as per letters received from prominent residents.

while at the same time they assert that Popham's expedition was guided by this same narrative, into the Kennebec River! This is one of their strongest arguments in support of the theory they adopt. Now this application of a supposed cause (although wrong in that supposition, for Popham was induced to locate at the Kennebec, through the report of Capt. Pring's discovery of the Kennebec River, the year before, and information derived from the five savages, brought from George's Islands by Weymouth, as is evident from the "narrative of Ferdinando Gorges," printed in the Maine Historical Collection, vol. ii., chap. 3, 5, 7) would rather weigh against the idea of obscurity and want of veracity in Rosier's statements.

Rosier's descriptions, when compared with the actual river he explored, will be found wonderfully correct, except in the instance alluded to, of conjectured matters, and in regard to those, I think, on careful examination, the charitable doubts of dispassionate historical criticism will justify the disbelief in any intentional misstatements on the part of the narrator, for had his object been in those cases to exaggerate, he would have stretched the story of his ascending the river more than eighteen miles, for such a small increase as that, would hardly have been an object of deliberate falsehood, but much more likely to have been an error in judgment of distance. He could likewise have made his rise of the tide *less* than eighteen or twenty feet, as such an extra tide is no advantage to a navigable river. The error of thirty minutes in the latitude is evidently unintentional, more probably a misprint, for had it been Rosier's design to lead others astray by giving the wrong latitude, he would have lessened it thirty degrees, rather than thirty minutes, or more probable still, have given no latitude at all. Likewise in relation to the *high lands*, those conspicuous landmarks would not have been pointed out, had obscurity been

his design. It will not do, because Rosier's descriptions do not conform to the scenery and location of Boothbay Harbor and Kennebec River, to denounce the historian's narrative as false, extravagant, and intended to deceive. If we take Rosier's narrative as published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, and compare it with the St. George's Island and St. George's River, its candor and truthfulness will be found perfectly apparent, and not excelled in that particular by any historian, either of that, or a later period.

ARTICLE XIV.

WEYMOUTH'S VOYAGE:

EXTRACTS FROM A PAPER READ AT A MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,
AT PORTLAND, IN JUNE, 1859,

BY

DAVID CUSHMAN, OF WARREN.

WEYMOUTH'S VOYAGE.

MR. CUSHMAN takes the same view of the locality of Weymouth's landing on the islands, and exploration of the River St. George, that is given by Mr. Prince in the preceding article. He urges with a clear comparison of facts, and a strong argument, his convictions that St. George's River, and no other, was the one explored by Weymouth. We have not space to present the whole of his paper, and it is not necessary to a full understanding of the case, as he follows the same line of discussion adopted by Mr. Prince, who was the first to suggest the locality, and whose article was read at the January meeting of the Society.

We take pleasure in publishing the closing portion of Mr. Cushman's able paper, in which he encounters the positions assumed, and the arguments urged in favor of the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers, severally by Dr. Belknap, and by Mr. McKeen of Brunswick. He says: —

WE are now prepared to examine the theories that it was either the Kennebec or the Penobscot that Weymouth discovered during his brief stay upon the coast.

Mr. McKeen says that at the first anchorage the day was probably clear, and the White Mountains revealed themselves to their view. This may, and it may not, have been so. The White Mountains, we know, are seen at sea only in the clearest weather; but that this day was clear, remains to be proved. The keeper of the light-house on Monhegan says, in answer to inquiries put to him by Cyrus Eaton, Esq., that in the very clearest weather the White Hills can

be discerned from the lantern of the light-house; but it is his opinion that they could not be seen from a point three miles to the north of that island, where Weymouth came to anchor. It may be quite doubtful if, at that early age, any of that ship's company knew of the existence of such hills. The Camden Hills, however, may be seen from Weymouth's position in almost any weather. To them they would appear high up in the main. But suppose they were seen. McKeen says that Weymouth probably took his departure for the White Hills. Let us look on the map of Lincoln County, and the State of Maine. The White Hills are actually in a higher latitude than where Weymouth was anchored; and starting from that point and sailing towards them, if he had escaped the islands which lie off Friendship, a few miles further run would have brought him up against the shores of Bremen. Rosier says they *went in directly toward the main*; Mr. McKeen says he probably took his departure for the White Mountains.

Now, if Boothbay is the Pentecost of Weymouth, as Mr. McKeen and others maintain, instead of going *in towards the land, directly in range with the mountains*, as Rosier says they did, he must have left them as a beacon, and stood out to sea in a south-westerly direction, and the nine miles which the Archangel's historian says they went, must have been extended to thirty and upwards before they would have arrived on that spot where Cam was sent in, with one of the boats, to find anchorage. The mate found a harbor, *on an island*, amidst a cluster of islands; and when the ship was brought in, they named it Pentecost Harbor. I am well acquainted with Boothbay Harbor, and it certainly is a most beautiful one; but then it is formed by the *shores of the mainland*, and by islands lying off in the distance, and is not a harbor lying *on an island*, as Weymouth's Pentecost Harbor was. Besides, there is no one of the islands

lying around Boothbay Harbor that has a harbor in it capable of accommodating such a vessel as Weymouth was then in. Again, the island where Weymouth found his Pentecost Harbor was only one of a large cluster of islands; but the islands which lie off Boothbay Harbor are very few — only about five or six — and these scattered to a considerable distance from each other.

When Weymouth was at Pentecost Harbor, he one day sent out his men who landed on two islands, the largest of which was estimated to be four or five miles in compass, and a mile wide. "This," the larger, says Mr. McKen, "is supposed to be Cape Newaggan;" but this cape is now dignified as the town of Southport; is at least five miles long, and probably fifteen miles in compass. "The lesser," says Mr. McKen, "with its sandy cove, and fresh water pond, is now called Squirrel Island." I have been several times on Squirrel Island; recollect well its sandy *beach*, but not its "sandy cove;" and if there is a fresh water pond here — which I never knew — it is quite likely that such exists on more than one of the numerous islands that lie at the mouth of the St. George's River, or skirt the bosom of the Penobscot Bay. But unfortunately for Mr. McKen, Rosier nowhere speaks of "sand," but oftentimes of ooze, soft bottom.

Again; on the morning of the thirtieth, Capt. Weymouth started in a pinnace, and entered on a river about a mile in width, with numerous coves, and of an oozy bottom all the way; and he went directly inland, toward the mountains. Now, suppose that on the morning of the thirtieth, he was in Boothbay Harbor, and started to make discoveries. Instead of going *inland*, directly "with the mountains," and finding his river above described, he must have started in a westerly direction, passed up through the "Gut," a very narrow passage between Southport and Boothbay, a dis-

tance of some four or five miles, and then he would find himself at once on the waters of the broad Sheepscoot River, with its straight, bold, granite shores, and almost destitute of those gallant coves, that oozy bottom, and convenient harbors which lined the whole distance from Pentecost Harbor up to where they went on their first excursion. Following this in a northerly direction, as they naturally would do, and *not* toward the mountains, a single tide, together with the help of their oars, would bring them up to the bay where the village of Wiscasset now stands. Going up and returning would be as much as they would be able to accomplish during the twenty-four hours they were absent. But in no place, as yet, had they come to a part of the river so narrow as to endanger them from the arrows of hostile Indians, nor would they, if they had kept on much farther. And where, then, would be the fresh water river into which they at that time had entered, and of whose sweet waters they all drank and refreshed themselves? Where, too, is that bend in the river spoken of, and made so much account of, by Rosier; and also the marsh lands, the hay growing upon its borders, and the shores sloping gently down to the bosom of the river; the numerous gallant coves, the graving docks, and so forth?

At Wiscasset they would be about as far from Bath village as when they started from Boothbay. And yet, they were not far from the same place to which the ship was brought a few days afterwards. And the ship came to the place in a single tide. But was there not a nearer way in which they might have gone to Bath village, without going round by Wiscasset? Yes; there is a way; blind in *these* days of civilization, and seldom navigated, except by boats and fishing vessels of the smaller size. Weymouth, however, knew nothing about that way; it took future times to discover and thread its intricate windings.

I was born on the banks of the Sheepscot River, and spent the days of my boyhood there; and I am as well acquainted with all the water passages, currents, channels, coves, bays, and inlets about those parts, as I was with my father's cow pasture; and I know the water passage from Wiscasset to Bath, and from Bath down by Georgetown and Westport, into Sheepscot River, to be a tortuous and narrow channel — much of the way — with cross tides, two Hurl Gates, bold shores in most places difficult of navigation, and quite unlike that which Rosier describes when they entered at once upon a beautiful, straight sheet of water, sometimes a mile, sometimes half a mile wide, with numerous gallant coves, and all the time going directly in range *with the mountains*. Weymouth, a skillful captain, in the limited time he was upon the coast, never would have risked his vessel in such a passage as that which exists between Sheepscot River and Bath, even if he had been acquainted with it; nor could he have gone and returned, during that limited time he is stated to have done so.

Mr. McKeen seems to rely very much on the Indian trail from the Damariscotta and Sheepscot Rivers, as being the one that Weymouth followed. But what had *he* to do with Indian trails, being commander of a ship which could move only in deep water? It is to be remembered that the Damariscotta has no more communication with the Sheepscot River than it has with the Medomak, and Indians can go in their light canoes where merchant and war ships would never dare follow.

Again, when Weymouth and his men landed, they came very *near to* the mountains; though they never fully reached them. But if Weymouth's ship ever reached Bath, and they had traveled a hot day in June in the wilderness, at night fall, if they could have seen the White Hills, they would have found them many a weary day's travel to the westward of them still.

Mr. McK. seems to have fallen into another error. Rosier speaks of part of the river which "trended westward into the main." But the Androscoggin is a river by itself, and emptying into the Kennebec at Merrymeeting Bay; and in no place till you get up as high as Brunswick would the boat's crew be in danger from the hostile Indian arrows.

But there is one objection fatal to this whole theory, which I will state, and then dismiss it. Two years afterward, Sir George Popham's colony came directly to Pentecost Harbor — they knew where to find it — and they found the cross which Weymouth had set up. "They were then," says Strachey, "environed with many islands;" those islands which Weymouth had discovered, and by his description they knew where to find them. And after they had left the island where the cross was erected, they actually "sailed to the westward," which brought the high land — Camden Hills — which had been northerly from them, more to the eastward, and "about midnight Capt. Gilbert caused his ship's boat to be manned with fourteen persons and the Indian Skidawarres (brought into England by Capt. Weymouth), and rowed to the westward from their ship, to the river of Pemaquid, which they found to be four leagues from the ship, where she rode. Starting from Pentecost Harbor, they "sailed" about eight miles "to the westward." There the night overtaking them, and the wind failing, they came to anchor; but at midnight twelve miles rowing in the boat "to the westward," brought them to Pemaquid. The distance from Monhegan to Pemaquid is twenty miles.

Will these landmarks, which are the same to-day that they were on the thirtieth of May, 1605, apply to the Penobscot? Rosier says they went up a river "toward the great mountains, beareth in breadth a mile, sometimes three-quarters, and half a mile is the narrowest, and on both sides every half mile, very gallant coves, some able to contain a

hundred sail, soft ooze for anchor hold, where ships may lie in the utmost safety." They advanced twenty-six miles, then they came to a sudden bend in the river, to a point, and to a narrowing of the river so that they would be in danger of Indian arrows if any were disposed to fire upon them.

Now let us see how these landmarks will apply to the Penobscot. A boat or vessel, for they both followed the same track, starting from Weymouth's position and sailing up the Penobscot, — instead of passing up a river of oozy bottom, beautifully defended from all winds, from half a mile to a mile wide, with numerous bays and coves, and going directly toward the mountains, — would steer several points of the compass to the east of the mountains, would pass along the rock-bound shores of St. George and South Thomaston on the left, through islands more or less frequent, and with the broad Atlantic on the right; and when they had ascended twenty-six miles, instead of finding themselves at the upper end of the broad part of the river, the land before them, the mountains ahead, the river which had been from half a mile to a mile wide, with numerous coves and soft muddy bottom, all at once trending to the west, turning a point, then running northerly, and being so narrow as to expose them to the arrows of hostile Indians, they would find themselves upon the bosom of the broad Penobscot, with no codde on the east, no mountains ahead, no bend on the west, no verdant patch of grass coming down to the water's edge, and entirely destitute of those landmarks which characterized the river of Rosier.

These two theories, then, the Sagadahoc and the Penobscot, must be abandoned. Capt. Williams was right in his location of the mountains, but not of the river. The compass of the ship could be relied on, but not the judgment of the master. Rosier's twenty-six miles could not by any possible stretching be made to reach above these mountains

in Belfast Bay; neither was the codde from which the Indians came any inland passage in the direction of Major Bigaduce.

The question still returns: where do these landmarks find an application? Our reply is, *in the St. George's River, and in no other on the coast.* Here you have the numerous islands among which Weymouth came to anchor when he first reached the coast; you find your beautiful island with Pentecost Harbor; you have a charming river of the width described, with its numerous gallant coves, among which are Marshall's Cove, Maple Juice Cove, Turkey Cove, and Broad Cove; a soft bottom; good holding ground; excellent harbors; a river entirely secure, with four different passages leading into it. You pass up directly toward the mountains, twenty-six miles from the first place of anchorage, and ten from Pentecost Harbor, to where Thomaston now stands; you have the codde; Mill River to the eastward, from which the Indians came in a canoe; also the sudden bend to the west, in which direction the river runs perhaps two miles; then a sudden turning to the north, forming the point where Weymouth erected his cross; a narrowing of the river so as to endanger them from hostile Indian arrows; a beautiful border of marsh lands on both sides of the river; a passage directly up into the fresh water above; and a continuation of the river to Montville, a distance of forty miles from its mouth.

Now all this is so natural, and the application of these landmarks so easy, that it seems a little strange they have not been made before; and the only objection to it seems to be of a twofold kind: first, a disposition of Rosier to magnify the river he discovered; and second, a determination in many minds to connect the voyage of Weymouth to this country, in 1605, with the discovery of one of the largest rivers. But not every rill is enlarged to a stream — not

every hill is connected with a mountain — not every sea captain is a discoverer — and not every discoverer can have his name associated with some lofty mountain or magnificent river.

Weymouth undoubtedly looked in upon Penobscot Bay; but there is not the least reason for supposing that he went up to the head of it, or knew of the mighty river that extended almost direct to the vast regions beyond. Who can reasonably believe that he went up twenty-six, or even forty miles, and then stopped there? And if he had supposed himself in a river at all, he would have at once concluded from the depth and volume of the water, that he was at the mouth of a river of more than one hundred and forty, rather than forty miles in length.

Mr. Locke, in his history of Camden, seems to suppose that Weymouth and his men landed at Goose River. But if it had been so, a single hour's walk would have brought them to the foot of the mountains, the distance being two or three miles; whereas, from the place where the party landed, they traveled during the day, until they became fatigued, *towards the mountains*, and still did not reach them; neither did they ever come up with them, or pass them, or have them on the right hand or the left, as would be the case if they went up the Penobscot River; but always in front of them, high up into the main, as would be the case provided the St. George's was the river they entered.

Rosier says the codde from which the Indians came, when the ship lay at anchor up the river, was to the *eastward*. This, Mr. L. seems to make synonymous with Goose River on the *western* side of the Penobscot.

Again: The river which Weymouth entered was completely land-locked, so that it was safe from all winds — of an oozy bottom and excellent anchor hold. This is the case with St. George's River; whereas, the Penobscot is but an

arm of the sea—of bold, rocky shores, and affords but comparatively few anchoring places till you get up above Belfast, when it narrows down to a medium width of perhaps half a mile; and in no part of it appears to answer to the description of the river which Rosier says Capt. Weymouth entered.

Other points might have been considered, all tending to the same result; but I have pursued the subject as far as it may be profitable, and if I have succeeded in throwing any light upon a hitherto perplexing question, my object is gained. The more I consider the matter, the more I am settled in the conviction, that the voyage of Capt. Weymouth to this country in 1605, resulted only in the discovery of the St. George's Islands and the St. George's River; that he gave them the name which they have inherited since, and that all attempts to associate his discovery with any other places or rivers must prove a failure.

ARTICLE XV.

TRANSLATION

OF

GEN. WALDO'S CIRCULAR--1753;

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION BY JOHN L. LOCKE,

OF BELFAST.

INTRODUCTION.

A FEW years since, the accompanying papers were found among the private papers of the late John W. Shepherd, of Belfast, who was a son of one of the early settlers of Wadoborough. Falling into the possession of his son, they were placed by him at the service of Dr. A. T. Wheelock, of Belfast, by whom they were translated. Being unable to procure the original documents themselves,—which are now in private hands in Wisconsin,—I would here submit to the Society the translation.

The history of the Muscongus Patent dates back to the year 1629, at which time it was granted by the Council of Plymouth to John Beauchamp, of London, and Thomas Leverett, of Boston, (England). On the death of Beauchamp, Leverett succeeded to the estate. In 1719, John Leverett, who was then president of Harvard College, representing himself as sole heir of his grandfather, according to the English laws of primogeniture, came into possession of the whole patent.

By an emergency arising, Leverett afterwards associated with himself ten others, when the corporation assumed the name of the Ten Proprietors. The same year, twenty others entered into the partnership, which gave the company the appellation of the Thirty Proprietors.

After the treaty of Utrecht, a difficulty arose which threatened the extinguishment of the claims of the Thirty Proprietors, by which they were induced to engage the services of Brig. Gen. Samuel Waldo, to effect an adjustment of the case. Proceeding to England, Waldo succeeded, by untiring application at court, in accomplishing the object of his mission. On his return, the Thirty Proprietors joined in surrendering to him, for his services, one half of the patent.

In 1732, Waldo caused his portion to be set off in severalty, and in the following year made extensive preparations for settlement. The first settlement was commenced on the St. George's River, during the year 1736, and consisted principally of Scotch-Irish people.

During his visits in Europe, Waldo had not been inactive in circulating proclamations holding forth to emigrants the most inviting offers to occupy the lands of his patent. In 1740, forty German families were induced by the representations of these circulars to accept of his offers. On their arrival they located at Broad Bay, and there laid the foundation of the present town of Waldoborough.

In 1753, Gen. Waldo's son, Samuel Waldo, visited Germany for the purpose of furthering his father's schemes, and to that end issued and distributed the circulars now under consideration. The inducements herein set forth had the effect of inducing sixty families to emigrate.

"Leaving their native homes," says Mr. Eaton, in his *Annals of Warren*, "they passed more than twenty miles by land, embarked in small boats upon the Rhine, descended that river to Dusseldorf, where they remained awhile for others to arrive, and then proceeded to Amsterdam. Embarking on board a ship, they left that city, but touched at Cowes. Here several of their number died. From Cowes they sailed to Portsmouth, and thence to St. George's River. At Pleasant Point they were transferred to a sloop,

which they filled as close as they could stand, and were carried round to Broad Bay. They arrived there in September. Some were crowded into a house; some were disposed of among the other settlers; and the remainder, far the greatest number, were put in a large shed. This shed was sixty feet long, without chimneys, and utterly unfit for habitation: yet here these destitute exiles, neglected by their patron, whose promises in this instance, either from his absence or other cause, were wholly unfulfilled, dragged out a winter of almost inconceivable suffering. Many froze to death, and many perished with hunger or diseases induced by their privations. The old settlers were too poorly supplied themselves to afford much assistance to the new comers, who were fain to work for a quart of buttermilk a day: and considered it quite a boon when they could gain a quart of meal for a day's labor."

In the following spring Waldo appointed an agent, Charles Leistner, "to dispose of emigrants and deal out the provisions provided for them."

It is not here necessary to trace further the history of these pioneers. The hardships and suffering they underwent, and the wrongs they endured, will become matters of record for the future historian of Waldoborough.

BELFAST, JUNE 2d, 1859.

GEN. WALDO'S CIRCULAR.

Continuation of collected advices and regulations relating to the lately settled Massachusetts, and particularly to Broad Bay and Germantown in New England.

[Extract from the Imperial Post newspaper, number forty-seven, March 23, 1753.]

THE Royal British Captain Waldo, hereditary lord of Broad Bay, Massachusetts, having arrived in Germany from New England, and having taken up his abode in the dwelling of Hofrath Luther, this is made known to all those who intend to go to New England this spring, and are seeking permission from their respective governments, and who further are able to pay the passage money, to the end that they may apply either to himself, or to these already made known places of address, viz: Luther's type foundry, and the office of Eichenberg's newspaper in Frankfort, Leucht and Aillerger's printing office in Augsburg, Mr. John Lewis Martin (merchant) in Hilbroun, and Mr. Goethel's printing office in Spires, (all of which are hereby made known to be regularly authorized, where, also, any other information may be obtained), and learn what is absolutely certain in regard to their journey, and make their contracts; while at the same time there is not the slightest notice to be taken of

those people who go about, sending back and forth, and undertaking that for which they have no authority; although much may be undertaken in the name of New England, and the people stirred up by those who have not received the slightest commission therefor. Accordingly, all other persons beside the above fully empowered houses, even if they profess to treat in the name of Samuel Waldo, Brigadier General in the royal army of Great Britain; or pretend to do business for the advantage of his colony, where most of the Germans have settled; and if even American letters have already passed through their hands, and they have had some useless business transactions with men, ships, &c., not in the appointed places; or produce other sealed documents, attested of little worth, which savor of the old custom; all such persons, in so far as they have received no orders from the aforesaid houses, will be shut out from all concern in the matter. But at the same time, by virtue of the full power of attorney situated at Frankfort, all and everything will be considered as binding, which may be done by the highly esteemed son of this gentleman, the hereditary Lord of Broad Bay, or by the aforesaid fully empowered houses.

The promised one hundred and twenty acres, German measure, will be measured out to each, as his own property, and that of his heirs in the same manner as if Gen. Waldo himself had transacted the business, and had been personally present. While, then, the people are warned to apply no where else than at the aforesaid places, and not to undertake the journey at once, without special papers of assignment and acceptance, (which every man in the neighborhood must obtain and thus secure himself) and thus be sure of his free passage; because it is intended to take only a suitable number of those who can pay their entire passage, or at least the half of it (as in the case of some), and not all, as affirmed in the excitement got up here and

there, by certain utterly unauthorized persons, in the name of New England, about which we hear of the greatest indignation being produced — at the same time it is intended to oppose all fraud, to treat the people justly, and to confer a heritage on those who pay the whole passage money, on which no unfair demands will be made, as has been the evil custom; but what is for their advantage will be pointed out to those who are emigrating.

The time of departure, and the place of gathering, with any further information, will be made known to all.

To this it is now added that the passes already made out for this purpose in the name of His Britannic Majesty, by the Duke of New Castle, Secretary of State, together with the needed documents connected with it, also the suitable letters of recommendation to his excellency, Onslow Burish, the Royal Minister at the honorable States Assembly at Ratisbon, are already given out.

FRANKFORT ON THE MAINE, MARCH 23, 1753.

The substance, in brief, of the principal circumstances and conditions respecting the settlement of foreign Protestants in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, especially Broad Bay.

This province lies, and extends itself in breadth along the Atlantic Ocean, in general, east-north-east and south-south-west, from forty-one degrees to forty-three degrees north, and five hours west, according to the meridian of London. Its land is made up of great districts, or divisions, which belong to the government itself, or to the most prominent settlers, or to gentlemen residing in England, to

whom it has been transferred by the crown, as Pennsylvania; therefore the economy or form of government rests upon almost the same basis as that; except that each of these districts can make certain domestic arrangements without depending on the General Assembly therefor, which otherwise might not be accomplished.

Boston, the principal city of this Province, which has been already built more than one hundred and fifty years, and is occupied by a great number of English inhabitants, in good circumstances, lies about midway between Philadelphia and Halifax in Nova Scotia. It is distant from this last named Province about five hundred English miles, and separated from it by a great bay called the Bay of Fundy. The climate is acknowledged to be healthy, and the soil is exceedingly fruitful, since the wood which grows there is mostly oak, beach, ash, maple, and the like, and it yields all manner of fruit as in Germany, but hemp and flax in greater perfection. Also, there is much game in the woods, and many fish in the streams, and every one is permitted to hunt and fish.

The government of Boston, from whence is a well built road and regulated mail to go to Pennsylvania, which lies only sixty-five or seventy German miles from it, has lately, in an assembly held Nov. 23d, 17-9, granted to the foreigners, for a beginning in its Province, four townships, each more than twenty thousand acres (German) in extent, where they can settle. Since, shortly after, a ship full of Germans arrived from Philadelphia, and announced that some hundred families would follow them, and other property holders in the same Province followed their example, and granted a great part of their lands on similar conditions; in particular his Britannic Majesty's Brigadier General Samuel Waldo, on these considerations, viz:—

No. 1. That those who will of their own accord, and

with the permission of their government, settle in Broad Bay, shall dwell together in certain divisions, consisting of one hundred and twenty. In every such district there shall be given to the church two hundred acres; to the first preacher settling among them, two hundred; to the school, two hundred; and to each of the one hundred and twenty families, one hundred acres, equal to more than one hundred and twenty German acres. And this land, provided they dwell upon it seven whole years, either in person or through a substitute, shall be guaranteed to them, their heirs and assigns forever; without their having to make the slightest recompense, or pay any interest for it. Unmarried persons of twenty-one years and upwards, who permit themselves to be transported hither, and venture to build on their land, shall also receive one hundred acres, and be regarded as a family.

No. 2. All such foreigners, provided they are Protestants, so soon as they arrive in New England, like all other subjects of his Britannic Majesty, will enjoy the protection of the laws; will be authorized, so soon as the one hundred and twenty families are together, to send a deputy to the General Court to represent them; will be obliged neither to bear arms nor carry on war; in case war should arise, they will be protected by the government; and the free exercise of all Protestant religions will be granted them. On the other hand, the government aforesaid demands nothing further than that every one hundred and twenty families shall call and support a learned Protestant minister within five years, reckoning from the time of the grant.

No. 3. There shall be given to the colonists on their arrival necessary support for from four to six months, according as they arrive early or late in the season. But only those will have the advantage of this who shall go thither under the direction of the places of address aforesaid.

No. 4. And if one or two Protestant preachers, provided with good testimonials from the consistories and church meetings, and unmarried, whose care is the salvation of souls, should resolve to trust to Providence and the good will of Samuel Waldo, and go forth immediately, at the beginning, with the rest, they shall receive besides their free passage a little supply of fifteen pounds sterling, for two years, out of the above named capital. Also, it is hoped that their congregations will also do something in addition. Boards for the first church which is to be built shall also be given, and delivered to them. It is to be further remarked that the first families going thither, although there should be several hundred of them, can all select their residences either in a seaport or on navigable rivers, where they can cut wood into cords for burning, or into timber for building material, and convey it to the shore, where it will always be taken of them by the ships for ready money, and carried to Boston or other cities, and from thence whatever they need will be brought back in return, at a reasonable rate. By means of which the people are not only able at once to support themselves until the land is fit for cultivation, but also are freed from the trouble and expense of making wagons, and traveling by land, to which difficulties it is well known Pennsylvania is subjected. Also, the government aforesaid has heard from people themselves, who have already come from Pennsylvania itself, the unjust treatment (well known to the world without any such announcement) which befel them upon the sea, after they had sailed from Holland, and has already made a regulation to prevent the like, for the future, in the voyage from Holland to Boston; according to which, not only the ship captains who bring the people over, but those who accompany them, must govern their conduct by the prescribed regulations, otherwise they will receive punishment, and be compelled to give the

people satisfaction; and also the ship itself will be taken care of. Thus are the like mischances in various ways prevented, and every one is made secure.

In order to avoid prolixity, this is suffered to suffice. Any one can easily gather out of what has been said, that it has not been the intention to persuade people to this expedition; and those who without this had resolved upon it of their own accord, will try their best not to suffer themselves to be deceived; and thus can, unhindered, carry out their journey in the name of God, upon the next time announced to the public, with governmental passports. He who in addition to this, wishes to inform himself more definitely with regard to any point, can apply to the houses and places of address made known in the Imperial Mail newspaper of March 23, 1753, or by prepaid letters.

We, Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, Count
L. S. of Clare, Lord of Houghton, Baron Pelham, of
Laughton, Knight of the Royal Order of the Gar-
ter, member of his Majesty's Secret Council, and first Sec-
retary of State, &c.

To all Admirals, Captains, Officers, Governors, Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Commanders, Custom House Officers, Overseers, Inspectors, and all others whom this pass may concern, greeting: This passport, made out in the name of the King, goes forth to desire, and demand of you, that you allow and permit the bearer of this pass, Gen. Samuel Waldo, one of the principal Proprietaries in that part of the King's lands which lies on Massachusetts Bay, New England, together with his servants, his effects, and whatever is needful to him, to travel free and unhindered from hence to Harwich, or to any other seaport in England, that he may there embark and pass over to Hol-

land. Further, also, we hereby pray and desire, that all servants, officers, and subjects of all Princes and States, who are allied with, and friendly to the King, will permit the said Gen. Waldo to pursue his journey to Frankfort on the Maine, or to any other place in Germany or in Switzerland, with the permission of the several Princes and States whom this may concern, in order to collect the people of the Protestant faith, who may wish to settle in the aforesaid Province of Massachusetts Bay. And further, in accordance with this, to permit him, the aforesaid General Samuel Waldo, and also such persons as in the aforesaid manner shall suffer themselves to be united with him, to travel, together with their guides and all their effects, free and unhindered, through Switzerland and the various countries of Germany to Holland, in order to embark at Amsterdam, or any other seaport of this country, to be transported to the aforesaid Province of Massachusetts Bay. Finally, all the King's servants who may chance to be in any territory of the aforesaid Princes and States, are hereby besought to support and to protect the aforesaid General Samuel Waldo in his purpose, so that he may easily carry out his plans aforesaid, and put them into effect.

Given at Whitehall, the second day of March, 1753,
in the twenty-sixth year of the King's reign.

ARTICLE XVI.

GOV. POWNALL'S CERTIFICATE

OF

TAKING POSSESSION OF THE PENOBSCOT;

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY JOS. WILLIAMSON.

GOV. POWNALL'S CERTIFICATE OF POSSESSION,

1759.

IN 1782, after the British Parliament had declared the American Colonies independent, the question of the eastern boundary of the new country became one of serious importance. It was considered by the British ministry that the easterly boundaries of the Province of Massachusetts should constitute those of the United States, and this position was taken before our commissioners in Paris. The framers of the treaty of 1783, on the part of Great Britain, were charged with violating their instructions, "in not insisting on the River Penobscot being the boundary between New Brunswick and the United States." It was claimed that by construction of the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, under which the whole of ancient Acadie was ceded to Great Britain, that territory extended to the Penobscot, instead of only to the St. Croix, and that the Province of Massachusetts Bay had never rightfully exercised jurisdiction east of the former river. John Adams, who with Dr. Franklin and John Jay were our commissioners of negotiation, maintained a contrary view, in support of which he cited Gov. Pownall's act of possession, as appears from the following extract from his diary, vol. iii., page 304, under date of Paris, Nov. 10th, 1782:—

"Accordingly, at eight this morning, I went and waited on the Compt (the Count de Vergennes). He asked me how we went on with the Eng-

lish. I told him we divided upon two points — the Tories and Penobscot : two ostensible points ; for it was impossible to believe that my Lord Shelburne or the nation cared much about such points. I took out of my pocket and showed him the record of Governor Pownall's solemn act of burying a leaden plate with this inscription : —

“ ‘ May 23, 1759. Province of Massachusetts Bay, Penobscot, dominions of Great Britain. Possession confirmed by Thomas Pownall, Governor.’

“ This was planted on the east side of the river of Penobscot, three miles above marine navigation. I showed him, also, all the other records, — the laying out of Mount Desert, Machias, and all the other towns to the east of the River Penobscot, and told him that the grant of Nova Scotia by James I. to Sir William Alexander, bounded it on the River St. Croix,” &c.

It is evident that Gov. Pownall's expedition to Penobscot in 1759, and his taking formal possession of the country east of that river, secured to our State a large and valuable portion of territory.

The following certificate should have accompanied Governor Pownall's journal, published in volume fifth of the Collections of the Society, but the original, which is in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was not discovered until after that volume had been printed.

J. W.

BELFAST, MAINE, JANUARY, 1859.

GOV. POWNALL'S CERTIFICATE.

MAY 23, 1759.

PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY — PENOBSCOT

DOMINIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

POSSESSION CONFIRM'D

BY

THOS^s POWNALL, Gov^r.

We, the underwritten, do certify that his Excellency, the Governor, Building a Fort on Penobscot River, and Proceeding thence with an arm'd Body above the Falls did there also Establish Possession of his Majesty's Rights in behalf of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. Did there hoist the King's Colours which were saluted by the artillery at sunset, and as a Monument thereof, his Excellency ordered a Leaden Plate with the above Inscription to be buried in the Sand on the East side the River of Penobscot, above the Falls, this twenty-third day of May, one thousand seven & fifty-nine.

N. B. I buried said Plate at y^e Root of a Large White Birch Tree, three large Trunks springing from y^e one Root.

The Tree is at the Top of a very high piked hill on y^e East side y^e River, about three miles above Marine Navigation.

(Signed) T. POWNALL.

(Signed) JEDEDIAH PREBLE, Br. General.

“ BENJ. HALLOWELL, JR., Captain of his Majesty's Ship King George.

“ THOM^s SANDERS, Capt. of the province Sloop
 Massachusetts.

“ JAMES CARGILL, Capt.

“ ALEX^r NICHELS, Capt.

“ JOHN PHILLIPS, Chaplain.

“ JACOB BROWN, Lieut.

“ JOHN PREBLE, Lt.

“ JOSHUA WARREN, Lieut.

“ WALTER M^c FARLAND, Lieut.

“ JOHN SMALL, Lieut.

“ JOHN ROBINSON, Lieut.

ARTICLE XVII.

FRENCH NEUTRALS IN MAINE;

COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
OF THE COMMONWEALTH, BOSTON,

WITH A PRELIMINARY NOTE, BY

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

FRENCH NEUTRALS IN MAINE.

[One thousand of the unfortunate inhabitants of Acadie, whose expulsion from that country took place in 1755, became a public charge to the Province of Massachusetts. The Legislature adopted measures for their relief, and distributed them according to the respective population and valuation of the several towns. They were placed under the superintendence of the selectmen and overseers of the poor, and their treatment was that of paupers, rather than as the victims of an alleged necessary State policy. The expense of their subsistence was reimbursed from the colonial treasury. After the treaty of 1763, wherein France renounced to Great Britain the native land of these exiles, many of them returned to it. Through an oppressive and unwarrantable act on the part of the British government, we have some of the most respectable citizens of our State, who trace their descent from the French neutrals, assigned to the County of York by the following division.]

The Committee to make a division of the French people in the County of York, late inhabitants of Nova Scotia, into the several towns within s^d County, — beg leave to report they met the 17th of July, 1760, and made the following division: —

The towns of *York*.

Francis Denset and wife, with nine chi'dren, Mary, John, Noon, Joseph, Peter, Ann, Francis, Dennis, and Charles. 11

Kittery. John King and wife, with eight children, Joseph, Margaret, Alexand^r, Ann, Charles, Paul, Betty, and Sarah. 10

Berwick. Peter White and wife, and five children, Mary, Joseph, Sebbell, Francis, and Charles. 7

Wells. John Mitchell and wife, with two children, Mary and Gregory; with two of Peter White's children, Margaret and Madlin. 6

Arundel. Joseph Dencur and wife, with one child. 3

Biddeford. Claud Boudrin and wife, with one child. 3

Scarbourer (Scarboro'). Joseph, John, Mary, and Margaret, children of Claud Boudrin. 4

Falmouth. Paul Leblanc and wife, and nine children, Mary, John, Rose, Tittium, Samuel, Margaret, Madlin, Joseph, and Oliver, and one not returned, in all 11

Those six not yet sent from Nantucket. 6

 61

The committee desire they may be sent to

North Yarmouth, 2

Georgetown, 2

Brunswick, 2

 6

The said Committee further report that they gave orders to the Selectmen of the several towns where the French people were destin^d. to receive them accordingly,

All which is Humbly submitted.

Per order,

JOHN HILL.

Two of the Committee, time and travel, with expenses.

John Hill and Richard Cutt, two days each, at 6s £1 4 0

Expenses in s^d service, 0 12 0

£1 16 0

For which they pray an allowance, which is humbly submitted.

Per order,

JOHN HILL.¹

¹ The whole number of French Acadians violently seized and transported from their quiet, humble homes, was about seven thousand. Of these about one thousand three hundred arrived in Massachusetts and Maine; others were distributed in the other colonies as far south as Georgia. Those who were not transported, were driven houseless into the forests. In the hurry and confusion of shipping the people on board the vessels, it often occurred that families were separated, a husband being carried to one colony, while his wife and children were carried to another. No provision was made for them on their arrival, and much suffering ensued. They were sent, in Massachusetts and Maine, to various towns, and placed under the care of the Overseers of the Poor. Among their privations was the absence of their priests and their usual mode of worship. They were permitted to meet for this purpose in private houses, but they were not allowed the exercise of public worship by Roman Catholic Priests. Under these sufferings and privations, many left the colonies as soon as they could get away. Some went to Hispaniola, where many perished from the climate in a short time; others went to Canada and France, and were widely dispersed. Among the harsh incidents attending this most cruel and oppressive measure, was the destruction of their houses, mills, and crops, so that they could have no places of refuge, nor inducements to remain in their own country; and no satisfaction was ever given them for their losses. One of the most intelligent of the victims declared that "it was the hardest case which had happened since our Savior was upon earth."

ARTICLE XVIII.

OYSTER SHELL DEPOSIT

IN

DAMARISCOTTA.

BY

PROF. P. A. CHADBOURNE, OF BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

OYSTER SHELL DEPOSIT IN DAMARISCOTTA.

Professor Chadbourne, of Bowdoin College, last spring, at the request of this Society, made a visit to the celebrated deposit of oyster shells, on the western bank of the Damariscotta River. The result of his examination is contained in the following paper. On his return from his exploration, he sent to Agassiz at Cambridge, fragments of bone which he had found among the shells, with certain views and explanations on the subject. From the specimens exhibited, Agassiz concurred in the opinion which Prof. Chadbourne had expressed, although he could not from the specimens and statement express any more than a mere opinion, on that part of the deposit pointed out. Afterwards other fragments were shown to him, when he exclaimed, "Oh, there is no possibility of a mistake."

About twenty years ago, Dr. Charles T. Jackson, who had been appointed to make a geological survey of the State, examined this singular deposit, and thus describes it in his report to the government.

"The bed of oyster shells forms a cliff, which is, at its highest point, twenty-five feet above the sea level, and it slopes down to about six feet above high water mark, and extends one hundred and eight rods in length, and from eighty to one hundred rods in width. The shells are dispersed in regular layers, and are very perfectly preserved, being whitened by the action of the weather. Various conjectures have been formed as to the origin of this deposit; the general belief is that they were heaped up there by the ancient Indian tribes, who formerly frequented the spot. Their regular stratiform position, and the perfection of the shells, appear to oppose this theory, as also the rarity of living oysters in the neighboring waters. * * * From our measurement, it will appear that there are no less than forty-four million, nine hundred and six thousand, four hundred cubic feet of shells in this bed."

It will be seen that Prof. Chadbourne has come to the same conclusion with Dr. Jackson; he was accompanied in his examination by his pupil, John M. Brown, a student of Bowdoin College.

W.

OYSTER SHELL DEPOSIT.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE, MAY 18TH, 1859.

John McKeen, Esq.,

DEAR SIR: —

On the twentieth of April I visited the beds of oyster shells at Damariscotta, according to your suggestions. I did not have time to visit all the beds in that region, but I believe I examined those that are considered the most important. I have no doubt that the shells examined by me were deposited by men. This I infer —

1st, From the position of the piles of shells.

2d, From the deposit beneath them.

3d, From the arrangement of the shells in the piles.

4th, From the frequent occurrence of charcoal mixed with the shells, even to the bottom.

5th, From the fact that fires have evidently been built among them, near the bottom, turning a portion of them to lime, which is mingled with charcoal.

6th, From the mixture of other animal remains, — as common clams (*mya arenaria*), thick shelled clams (*venus mercenaria*), fragments of birds' bones, of beavers' bones — with their teeth, and sturgeons' plates.

1st, The first thing that strikes the observer is the oc-

currence of the shells in small piles, ten or fifteen feet in diameter, and *apparently* two or three feet deep. They seem to rest upon the surface, and to have no soil upon them except that formed by their decomposition and the other substances that would naturally collect from fall of leaves, decay of plants, and movement of dust from year to year. We did not have the time to dig through any of these. I give only the impression that I gained by examining them as they now are, — and that is, that they were deposited upon the land in its present position.

2d, Where the river has washed away the bank, we have a fine opportunity of examining the deposit beneath the shells, and also their line of juncture with that deposit. We find that deposit made up of sand, gravel, and boulders mingled — a diluvial deposit like all the land in the vicinity beyond the shells; and the line of juncture gives the appearance of shells thrown upon dry ground. There was no appearance of wearing, or mingling of the sand with the shells, and in one place, where a boulder was upon the surface of the sand, they seemed to rest against it in a way that precluded, in my mind, the action of water.

3d, Wherever we found a deep section of shells so lately made that the surface had not decomposed, the *open* appearance of the shells was marked. They were not mingled with fragments of bone or broken shells or with sand, — presenting, in this respect, an entirely different appearance from the great deposit of oyster shells by water at the mouth of the St. Mary's River, Georgia, which I had an opportunity of carefully observing two years ago.

4th, In these places, in deep sections, we found fragments of charcoal mingled with the shells under conditions that showed conclusively that it could have been deposited there only as the shells were deposited. The coal left with you was taken out in a deep section very near the bottom. So

common did we find the coal that I feel confident it can be found there by any careful observer.

5th, In one section a dark line was seen near the bottom of the deposit. Perhaps a foot from the bottom, along that dark line, fragments of charcoal were found, and the shells for a few inches underneath were decomposed, as though they had been acted upon by fire; and in this same place were found most of the fragments of bones left in your possession. I have no doubt a fire was built upon the shells when the bed was about one foot in thickness.

6th, The fragments of bones left in your possession are to be submitted to any person desirous of examining them. I consider the jaw and teeth of the rodent animal to be those of a beaver. There is certainly one fragment of a bird bone. And I would call especial attention to the manner in which these bones are broken, as though done with some instrument. I can think of no other means by which they could be broken into such fragments.

The large mass of shells might be used as an argument in favor of deposition by water, but if careful examination proves that they were deposited by men, then the great mass only proves the great number of men or the great length of time during which these shells were accumulating. No man can pronounce an intelligent opinion upon them without an examination. From what I had heard I expected to find that they were deposited by water. There may be beds of shells in that region deposited in this way, but I am fully convinced that those examined by me were deposited by men. I would write more at length, but I am very much pressed by my duties. Some future day I should be glad to explore those beds more fully.

Very truly yours,

P. A. CHADBOURNE.

ARTICLE XIX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1859;

WITH

OBITUARY NOTICES OF DECEASED MEMBERS.

BY

WM. WILLIS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

THE usual meeting of the Society was held at Augusta, January 19, 1859. Two corresponding members were chosen, viz: Josiah Pierce, Jr., Esq., now resident in St. Petersburg, Russia, and Dr. Usher Parsons, of Providence, R. I.; and ten resident members to fill vacancies, whose names appear in the list of members at the commencement of this volume.

A communication was received from Dr. Usher Parsons, making a donation to the Society of interesting manuscripts and bound volumes; the thanks of the Society were voted to him for the valuable present.

Joseph Williamson, Esq., of Belfast, communicated several papers, one relating to the French Neutrals distributed in Maine in 1763, another, a translation of Gen. Waldo's proclamation, both of which appear in this volume; also his attempts to procure in England the "Relation of the Services of Capt. Henry Mowatt, R. N., in America from 1759 to the Close of the American War," without success. Also a most interesting paper, showing the movements, toward the close of the War of the Revolution, 1780, toward establishing a colony of Loyalists, to be called New Ireland, in that part of Maine which lies east of the Penobscot River. He is investigating this subject further, to prepare an article for the Society's collections.

The death of Prof. Cleaveland having been announced, who had for many years been Corresponding Secretary, a series of resolutions was submitted by the President, and adopted by the Society, providing for a eulogy by President Woods of Bowdoin College, &c., which appear, with the eulogy, in this volume.

The Hon. James W. Bradbury was then elected Corresponding Secretary to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Prof. Cleaveland.

In the afternoon a public meeting was held at the court house, at which a paper was read by Judge Pierce, of Gorham, on the life and services of Major Archelaus Lewis, of the Revolutionary army, in which he exhibited his original order book and portions of his journal.

Professor Packard read a memoir of the Rev. John Murray, of Boothbay and Newburyport, prepared by the Rev. Mr. Vermilye, a successor of Mr. Murray at Newburyport. The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Vermilye for his interesting paper, and it is published in this volume.

The President produced some original letters of Lafayette, Talleyrand, Thomas Paine, Mary Wolstoncroft, Helen Maria Williams, and other celebrities, addressed to Joel Barlow and members of his family. He also read biographical sketches of members who had died within the year, viz: the Hon. Joseph Dane, the Hon. Nathaniel Groton, and Solomon Thayer, Esq., which are contained in this volume. He alluded to the deaths, within a recent period, of other members of the Society, viz: Ebenezer Clapp, of Bath, Jan. 28, 1856, aged seventy-seven; Zina Hyde, of Bath, 1856; Gov. Parris, Feb. 11, 1857, aged sixty-nine; Moses Quimby, March 7, 1857, aged seventy-one; Dr. Theodore Ingalls, June 9, 1857, aged sixty-seven; Judge William P. Preble, Oct. 11, 1857, aged seventy-four; Benjamin Randall, of Bath, Oct. 14, 1857, aged sixty-nine; Prof. Cleaveland, Oct. 15,

1858, aged seventy-nine; Rev. Dr. Nichols, Jan. 2, 1859, aged seventy-four.

The Rev. Mr. Ballard, of Brunswick, was called upon, and read a valuable paper on the Abnaki Indians and their language; the Rev. Dr. Sheldon, of Bath, read an article prepared by Mr. George Prince, of Bath, to prove that the islands and river visited and explored by Capt. George Weymouth, in 1605, were those which now bear the name of George's or St. George. This paper may be found in the present volume.

In the evening, President Woods pronounced an eulogy upon the lamented Prof. Cleaveland, to a very large and deeply interested audience, which is in this volume, and cannot be perused without emotion, by the numerous friends, admirers, and pupils of that venerable and honored man.

The Rev. Mr. Ballard then read an able article on the Abnaki tribes of Indians, their language, customs, &c., prepared by the Rev. Eugene Vctromile, of the Society of Jesus, formerly Patriarch among those tribes, and now Professor in the College of the Holy Cross, at Worcester.

This protracted and very interesting meeting closed by a paper from the President, reviewing the volume recently printed by the Hon. George Folsom, of New York, containing minutes, abstracts, and copies of documents relating to Maine, found in the English state offices. These documents were procured and printed wholly at the expense of Mr. Folsom, and are a valuable contribution to our historical knowledge.

The next meeting of the Society was held at Portland, on the twenty-ninth of June. The President, Mr. Willis, opened the meeting by the following statement concerning

the Society, and a notice of the death of the venerable Stephen Thatcher, a member, which took place since the preceding meeting:—

“ Our Society was incorporated Feb. 5, 1822; the number of corporate members was forty-nine, of whom, after a period of thirty-seven years, twelve are now living, viz: Rev. William Allen, late President of Bowdoin College, Judge Ashur Ware, Dr. Isaac Lincoln of Brunswick, Robert H. Gardiner of Gardiner, the venerable John Merrick, now over ninety years old, Judge Peleg Sprague, now of Boston, Rev. Benjamin Tappan, and Reuel Williams, of Augusta, Samuel E. Smith, of Wiscasset, formerly Governor of the State, Rev. Jonathan Coggs well, formerly of Saco, now Professor in the University of New York, Chief Justice Ether Shepley, and Jacob McGaw of Bangor.

“ The whole number of resident members now, is seventy-nine; the number limited by the rules is eighty, the existing vacancy having been occasioned by the death of Stephen Thatcher, of Lubec, who died at Rockland, Feb. 19, 1859, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. Mr. Thatcher was fifth in descent from the Rev. Peter Thatcher, minister in Salisbury, England, whose son Thomas, the ancestor of the numerous family of that name, came with his Uncle Anthony to this country in 1635, at the age of fifteen; and was settled in the ministry at Weymouth in 1644.

“ Our deceased member was born in Lebanon, Conn., the son of Rodolphus, graduated at Yale College in 1795, and was educated for the ministry; but his health failing, he never took charge of a parish. His early life was occupied in keeping school and occasional preaching, part of the time at Beverly, Mass., where he formed the acquaintance of the Rev. Mr. McKen, the first President of Bowdoin College, whose sons enjoyed the benefit of his instructions.

"In 1803, he came to Kennebunk, in Maine; engaged in trade there, became a politician, and an earnest and able writer in support of Mr. Jefferson and the principles of the Democratic party. In 1807, he was appointed Judge of Probate for York County, by Gov. Sullivan; in 1810 he was appointed Post Master of Kennebunk by Mr. Madison; and in 1818, President Monroe transferred him to the lucrative office of Collector of the Passamaquoddy District, an office which he faithfully filled for twelve years, by successive appointments.

"In 1804, he married Harriet Preble, of York, a sister of the Hon. Judge Preble, a lady of superior education and fine qualities, with whom he lived forty-five years. His son Peter, a surname distinguished in the annals of the family, is a lawyer in Rockland, and a member of our Society.

"Mr. Thatcher kept up his fondness for study, and especially of the classics, to his last days. It is said that the midnight hour often found him engaged with his pen or his books. Such examples should stimulate the young to a higher and more thorough intellectual cultivation, and a more ardent pursuit of learning. The road to knowledge cannot now be said to be obstructed by difficulties; it is smoothed and leveled and graded, and made almost royal, for the frequent and busy feet, we had almost said, of the loiterers therein. So smooth indeed, that what it has gained in facility, it may have lost in discipline.

"Of the associate surviving members, four were elected in 1822, the year the Society was organized, viz: Frederic Allen, of Gardiner, Ebenezer Everett and Joseph McKeen, of Brunswick, and Chief Justice Weston, of Augusta. Sixteen members chosen in 1828, survive; the remainder, forty-nine associates, were elected in 1840 and after.

"The Society is in a flourishing condition, and pursuing a course of honorable and useful activity. Its five published

volumes have given it an established reputation, which will be increased by the sixth, immediately going to the press."

The Rev. Mr. Ballard, of Brunswick, being then introduced, read a very interesting history of the Episcopal Church in Maine, which is published in the present volume. The next paper, also contained in this volume, was a memoir of Dr. Benjamin Vaughan, of Hallowell, one of the corporate members of the Society, and eminent in public and private life, prepared and read by the Hon. Robert H. Gardiner, of Gardiner.

The Rev. David Cushman then read a paper containing a very thorough, minute, and able discussion of the disputed locality of Capt. George Weymouth's voyage; in which he fully sustained the position taken by Mr. Prince, of Bath, in the paper read at the January meeting in Augusta. It also ably combats the theories of the advocates of Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers, as the scene of Weymouth's explorations. This portion of the essay will be found in preceding pages.

Mr. John L. Locke, of Camden, gave an account of Gen. Waldo's proclamation in Germany, in 1753, for settlers and emigrants to his patent, a copy of which he had translated, and presented to the Society; his remarks and the proclamation are contained in this volume. Prof. Packard read an exceedingly interesting original letter from Albert Gallatin, addressed in 1798 to Lewis F. Delesdernier, procured for the Society by the Hon. Stephen Thatcher, which has never before been published, and which will be perused with pleasure and instruction in the foregoing pages.

The President then read an article in which he fully discussed the question of the conflicting claims of the French and English to Acadia, and the adjacent countries, giving an account of the first discovery and earliest voyages to this part of the continent.

A communication was transmitted by Prof. Chadbourne, on the celebrated deposit of oyster shells at Damariscotta, which he had visited in the preceding part of the summer, accompanied by various specimens taken from the locality, to illustrate his views. In the absence of Prof. Chadbourne in Europe, the paper was read by Prof. Packard, and the specimens exhibited and explained by John M. Brown, an undergraduate of Bowdoin College, who accompanied Prof. Chadbourne in the survey.

The Hon. Phinchas Barnes presented a proposal of the "Portland Natural History Society," to furnish apartments in the building which they are reconstructing for their own uses, for the Historical Society, to be arranged and fitted up by the Society upon such plan as they may deem expedient. The subject, after an animated discussion, in which Mr. Barnes, Mr. Bradbury, Mr. Gardiner, Judge Shepley, Mr. Evans, Mr. Bourne, Prof. Smyth, and others took part, was committed for consideration, and the reception of other proposals; the committee to report at the next annual meeting.

A committee was also chosen to revise the by-laws and report at the next meeting.

The afternoon meeting was adjourned to the evening, and a social levee of the members was held at the mansion of the President.

In the evening, John A. Poor, Esq., read a paper on "English Colonization in America," in which he claimed for Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his associates the honor of English colonization on this continent, and disputed the claims advanced by Massachusetts historians in behalf of the Pilgrims and the Puritans.

Rev. Rufus K. Sewall then read an interesting paper on the historical remains at Sheepscot and Sagadahoc.

Mr. Poor presented a communication from Dr. James

Robb, Professor of King's College, New Brunswick, containing a translation of the memoir of M. Cadillac to the French government, in 1692, on Acadia and New England, from the archives of Paris, and translated by him. The thanks of the Society were voted to Prof. Robb, to Mr. Sewall, and to Mr. Poor, for their valuable papers.

Rev. Mr. Ballard made an interesting communication from Father Vetromile, former Indian Patriarch to the Abnakis, and spoke of an extensive vocabulary of their language which he is preparing, which he wished to have published under the sanction of the Historical Society. The thanks of the Society were voted to Prof. Vetromile for his able communications.

M. Vetromile and Dr. Robb were nominated as corresponding members.

The Society adjourned late in the evening, after three interesting and instructive sessions.

The annual meeting was held at Brunswick, Aug. 4th, the President in the chair.

The committee on a revision of the by-laws made a report embodying a new code of regulations, which, after long discussion and amendments, was adopted, and is published in the present volume.

Officers of the Society, under the new by laws, were chosen, and their names appear at the commencement of the volume.

The following persons were elected corresponding members: Rev. Eugene Vetromile, Professor in the College of the Holy Cross, at Worcester; James Robb, M. D., Professor of Chemistry, &c., in King's College, N. B.; Rev. A. G. Vermilye, of Newburyport; Count Julius de Menou, of

Pari^z, a descendant of Charles de Menou, Lord D'Aulnay, a distinguished officer, and appointed perpetual Governor of Acadia, "the country he had so well defended," by Louis XIV., in 1647.

The Treasurer's Report exhibited a fund safely invested of \$7,509.40, after paying \$297, advanced towards the payment of the sixth volume of collections, now in course of publication.

Mr. Ballard presented the original journal of a soldier in Gov. Pownall's expedition to the Penobscot in 1759, for which the thanks of the Society were voted to him.

At eleven o'clock, the Society proceeded to the church, and listened to a profound and interesting discourse on the method and laws of history, from the Rev. Dr. Hedge, of Brookline, Mass. We cannot do justice to this very learned production in a brief paragraph; the student of history will probably soon be gratified by its publication; it was rich in thought and language, and ample in illustration. His introduction was eloquent and appropriate to the occasion, the college, the State, and the Historical Society. This was a fitting and beautiful close of the annual transactions of the Society; and no year of its history has been better furnished with learned, able, and interesting communications than the present. Its progress has been essentially advanced, its character elevated, and its usefulness extended; and although its years are few, its maturity is well nourished and strong; its space is filled by deeds, not lingering years. In the sweet language of Ovid, —

"Actis ævum implet, non seignibus annis."

The following obituary notices, prepared by the President of the Society, were read at the meeting at Augusta.

JOSEPH DANE.

The Hon. Joseph Dane died at Kennebunk, May 1, 1858, aged seventy-nine. He descended from John Dane, who emigrated from England, and settled in Ipswich, Mass., about 1648. His parents were John and Jemima (Fellows) Dane, of Beverly, where he was born October 25, 1778. They were natives of Ipswich, and died, the father in 1829, in his eightieth year, the mother in 1827, aged seventy-six.

Mr. Dane was fitted for college at the academy in Andover, and graduated at Harvard College in 1799, with the second honors of his class. His class contained such men as Parker Cleaveland, Willard Hall, Samuel D. Parker, of Boston, William H. Sumner, John Wilson of Belfast, and Dr. Rufus Wyman. On leaving college, he entered the office of his uncle, the honorable and distinguished Nathan Dane, of Beverly, as a student at law, and was admitted to practice in Essex County, in June, 1802. The large practice and great learning of his uncle, and the association with the eminent men then coming upon the stage, Prescott, Jackson, Putnam, Story, all at the Essex Bar, could not but have animated the aspiring student with high and honorable motives of action, and an ardent desire to become distinguished in his profession.

Immediately after his admission, he opened an office at Kennebunk, then a part of Wells, and soon became prominent as a sound lawyer, an able advocate, and an upright man. There were then in practice in that county, Prentiss Mellen, Cyrus King, Dudley Hubbard, Benjamin Greene, Joseph Thomas, John Holmes, and George W. Wallingford, all men of note at the bar and in public service, and who

have long preceded him in the crowded funereal procession to the tomb. He continued in practice until 1837, having maintained for more than a third of a century, a character of spotless integrity, and of great honor and ability in his profession; and during the latter portion of the time, was a leader at that bar.

Although his modesty and reserve caused him to shrink from public employments, he was induced by the earnest application of his fellow citizens, occasionally to take office. In 1816, he was a member of the abortive convention at Brunswick, on the subject of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts; and in 1819, of the convention which formed the constitution of the State, and was one of the very able committee appointed to draft that instrument. In 1818, he was chosen one of the two members of the Executive Council of Massachusetts, then allowed to Maine, but he declined accepting the office. In 1820, he was chosen a member of the sixteenth Congress for the unexpired term of Mr. Holmes, who had been raised to the Senate; he was re-elected to the seventeenth Congress, and having served out his term, he declined being again a candidate. He served his town as a representative in the Legislature of the State, in the years 1824, 1825, 1832, 1833, 1839, and 1840, and the county in the Senate, in 1829. At the close of the session of 1840, he retired from public life altogether, having declined the appointment of commissioner to revise the public Statutes, and the office of Executive Councillor, both of which were honorably tendered to him. He preferred the enjoyments of private life, and the repose of his own excellent family, to the bustle and excitement of political life. He was thoroughly and essentially conservative in all his views, and he had a great abhorrence to a demagogue and an intriguing partisan, in whatever guise they might appear. He was a valued member of the old Federal party while it

existed, but in the latter part of his life he took but little interest in politics. In every public office, and in every act of private life, his conduct was characterized by a firm, un-deviating sense of right, and a conscientious determination neither to do, nor to submit to what was unjust or wrong. No man or statesman's record is clearer than that of Mr. Dane, among all our public men or fellow citizens, through the more than half a century that he dwelt in our community.

In October, 1808, he married Mary, a daughter of the Hon. Jonas Clark, of Kennebunk. Mr. Clark was a son of the Rev. Jonas Clark, of Lexington, Mass., and his wife was Sarah, a daughter of Dr. Edward Watts, a prominent physician of Portland before the Revolution, and a son of Judge Samuel Watts, of Boston. Mrs. Dane was a lady of great excellence of character, and still survives. They had two sons and one daughter. His eldest son, Joseph, succeeded to his business, and in 1856 served as one of the Bank Commissioners. His second son, Nathan, is a farmer in Alfred, and represented his county in the Senate of the State in the years 1857 and 1858. From a stock so sound and healthful, we should be justified in expecting no other than excellent fruit.

He bore his last sickness, which was attended with considerable suffering, with cheerfulness and patience; and surrendered his parting breath with Christian resignation and trust. The death of such a man, although full of years, was felt as a public loss; and the community in which he lived, mourned with unfeigned sorrow the departure of a wise counsellor, a true friend, and an honest man. His death preceded that of his classmate, Prof. Cleaveland, just five months and a half, and but six, from a class of forty-four, now remain alive. Ebenezer Clapp and the Rev. William Frothingham, beside those before mentioned, John

Wilson and Prof. Cleaveland, adopted our State at an early period of their lives as their place of residence, and all died among us, after enriching our community with the fruits of their wise and varied experience. The law, theology, and science are their debtors for large contributions made by them in the early period of our Commonwealth, to the departments they ably represented. In our zeal for the new, and the present, and the pressing, let us not forget those wise pioneers and vigorous men, who strengthened the foundations of our young society, and defended its battements through the struggles of our earlier and weaker day.

We turn now to an associate of a different type, who leaned rather to the progressive and democratic elements than to the conservative. —

THE HON. NATHANIEL GROTON.

Nathaniel Groton died at Bath, October 25, 1858. He was born in Waldoborough, May 9, 1791, and was, consequently, a few months over sixty-seven years of age. He was a son of William and Mary (Sprague) Groton, who were both natives of Massachusetts, the father born in Ipswich, March 30, 1768, the mother in Marshfield, September, 1772. She was a descendant of Peregrine White, the first white person born in New England, and who died in Marshfield in 1704. She was also connected with the large and respectable family of the Spragues, of the old colony, one of whom, Judge Sprague of Boston, was formerly our fellow citizen. They both moved when quite young, with their parents, to Waldoborough, and with them, contributed to promote the growth and prosperity of that flourishing town. The father's epitaph reads that "he exemplified through his

long life, a character distinguished for industry, frugality, and benevolence." He died in 1845, and his widow in 1849, at the age, respectively, of seventy-seven. They were both, too, of English descent; she through the Plymouth Pilgrims, and he from one of the colonists of Massachusetts. His ancestor of the same name, with a brother Nathaniel, were the first of the family who immigrated to New England. Nathaniel was an early settler at Groton, William, of Ipswich. William, the grandfather of the subject of our notice, served under Wolfe at Quebec, and in the war of the Revolution was sometime a prisoner in one of the loathsome prison ships at New York.

The parents of Judge Groton had six children, four sons and two daughters, none of whom are living but his brother Joseph, at Waldborough. The only daughter who survived infancy, married Denny McCobb, and with her husband, has long been dead.

When Mr. Groton was about fourteen years old, he was possessed with the passion for a sailor's life, which often seizes upon boys who are brought up on the margin of the sea. The beautiful sight of a ship gliding smoothly from the harbor, a brilliant sun above, a quiet sea beneath, and with a full and flowing sheet, kindles an irrepressible desire to partake the gale, and join in a scene so magnificent and exciting. They do not then foresee the coming tempests, nor the wrecks which strew so many strands. Our young sailor's experience was of this character; the vessel in which he sailed was cast away and lost, but he was fortunately rescued and carried to Dublin, whence, after an absence of two years, he found his way home, a wiser boy than when he first strutted on the quarter deck. He had found that the seas were not forever bright, nor the skies forever fair, and he was quite willing to seek a different profession.

He now earnestly prepared for college, pursuing his preliminary studies at Hebron Academy. He graduated at Bowdoin College in 1814, having among his classmates, the Rev. John A. Douglass, Charles Dummer, Judge Stephen Emery, and John Eveleth, all of whom survive him.¹ He commenced the study of law with Col. Isaac G. Reed of Waldoborough, and finished it with the distinguished advocate and politician, Benjamin Ames of Bath.

He opened an office in Bath, where he continued to reside in the practice of his profession to the year preceding his death, when he removed to Portland to be near his only daughter, who was married to the Hon. F. O. J. Smith, of Westbrook.

Judge Groton was elected a Senator from Lincoln County to the Legislature in the years 1832 and 1834. In the latter year he was appointed Judge of Probate for Lincoln County, which office he held by successive Executive appointments fourteen years. He also held, at various times, responsible municipal offices in his adopted town.

Amidst the duties of his public stations, and the cares of his profession, he found time for general reading, and for the pursuit of his favorite studies into the remote regions of history, and the antiquities of our country. In these he made great proficiency, and his zeal and relish increased with the pursuit, "*crescit eundo*." He gave the public the benefit of his acquisitions in frequent articles in the newspapers. He took exceeding interest in the German colony settled at Waldoborough, and especially in one of its leading members, Conrad Heyer, who died at a great age a few years ago. The result of this labor appeared within two or three years in numerous contributions to the Bath papers. He also published in the same papers, a series of articles on the history of the churches in Bath, in which he

¹ Mr. Eveleth died in September, 1859.

piled up a great mass of curious facts and singular speculations. All these communications were characterized by the peculiarity of Mr. Groton's mind, which was filled to overflowing with facts stored up by a tenacious memory, from varied and desultory reading, but lacking altogether a power of combination and arrangement. He was ardent and impulsive, and poured out his copious materials with a rapid hand, without waiting to set them in special order; and was constantly starting into side issues and collateral inquiries and anecdotes, as new ideas and facts flashed upon his imagination.

There also appeared from his pen, in the second volume of our collections, a brief notice of Pemaquid, and in the fifth volume, an account of the Rev. Mr. Starman, an old and worthy German clergyman in Waldoborough, now deceased. He is said, also, to have been preparing, at the time of his death, a history of his native town. This, we hope, may be in sufficient forwardness to be published. He had studied well, and was more familiar than any one we know with the annals of the whole region of the country lying between the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers, bordering on the sea, embracing the old county of Lincoln. He had often visited those interesting spots, and made himself acquainted with their early history and traditions.

In October, 1826, Mr. Groton married, at Epping, N. H., Miss Elizabeth W. Kitteredge, daughter of the late Dr. George G. Kitteredge, a distinguished and successful physician of that town. By her he had two children: a son, George, who died at the age of three years, and Ellen E. K., the wife of Mr. Smith, of Westbrook. The mother and daughter survive.

Judge Groton was taken suddenly away, by what is supposed to have been a disease of the heart. He fell to the ground, in a remote place in Bath, and "made no sign." He

was seen to fall by a person with whom he had been conversing a few minutes before, but when he reached him, life was extinct. The disease had given him admonitory warnings some months previous, but its fatal termination was not so soon anticipated.

Judge Groton had a kind and genial nature; his temperament was ardent, but free from asperity and harshness. He was social and communicative, and his intercourse with his family, and in society, was marked by benevolence, truthfulness, and honor. If he had an enemy, it lurked within himself, and was the result of a complying and facile disposition and a too easy and impulsive nature. Let the good he has done live after him, but the evil, if he did any, be interred with his bones.

SOLOMON THAYER.

Another of our deceased members is Solomon Thayer, who died in Portland, Dec. 22, 1857, aged sixty-eight. Mr. Thayer was born in Bridgewater, Mass., Sept. 4th, 1789, and was the son of Jeremiah and Catherine (Pratt) Thayer, both natives of the old colony. In 1800, his parents moved to Sidney, in this State. They had several children, among the younger of whom was the subject of this notice, whose early life was occupied in the trade of his father, which was that of a blacksmith. But being desirous of obtaining an education, he engaged in school keeping to enable him to pay his expenses at Hebron Academy, which was then in high repute under the instruction of Wm. Barrows and Bezalcel Cushman. Here he prepared for college, and entered Bowdoin one year in advance. He graduated in 1815, in a class of eight, which included Gov. Dunlap, George Evans, Chandler Robbins, and Rev. John A. Vaughan. We are told that, as a scholar, Mr. Thayer had no superior in his

class. After graduating, he entered the office of the late Benjamin Orr, where he diligently pursued his studies, and took charge of his office business while he was in attendance upon Congress. On being admitted to the bar in 1818, he moved to Lubec, then an infant settlement, and established himself in the practice of the law.

By a course of industry, fidelity to his clients, and a sound, legal mind, he gained the confidence of the community, and acquired a handsome property, the accumulation of which was aided by a profitable office in the Custom House, which he held for a number of years, that of Inspector of Customs in the Passamaquoddy District.

He represented Lubec in the Legislature of 1844, and served with great acceptance on the Valuation Committee, in the years 1830 and 1845. He continued at that place, faithful to his honorable profession and to his own high aims, for more than a third of a century, enjoying the respect and confidence of the people among whom he lived, and of the bar of which he was a respected member.

Having acquired a competency, he retired from the practice, and wishing to enjoy more ample advantages of society than Lubec afforded, he moved to Portland in 1852, and continued to reside there until his death. While in Portland, he held for a while the office of Treasurer of the York and Cumberland Railroad Company.

In 1821, he married Lydia Eliza Faxon, daughter of Dr. John Faxon, then of Lubec, also a native of the old colony. They had no children; she continues to reside in Portland. Mr. Thayer's final sickness was a pulmonary consumption, which had been long undermining his constitution, and of whose fatal result he had not been unconscious. He was a man of stern Puritan principles and a high religious tone of character; but at the same time, kind and amiable, and of a ready sympathy for all worthy objects of charity. He

met his death calmly, and as one whose faith and life had given him assurance that he was passing on to a higher and more perfect existence.

Beside those deceased members of whom we have thus given brief biographical sketches, there died in 1857, five other members, viz: Dr. Theodore Ingalls, June 9, 1857, sixty-seven; Gov. Parris, Feb. 11, 1857, sixty-nine; and the Hon. William P. Preble, Oct. 11, 1857, seventy-four, all of Portland; Moses Quimby, Esq., of Westbrook, May 7, 1857, seventy-one; and the Hon. Benjamin Randall, of Bath, Oct. 14, 1857, sixty-nine. These all were natives of Maine, while those we have before noticed were emigrants from Massachusetts, except Judge Groton.

Of these respected associates, Gov. Parris received an extended notice just after his death, in the address of the President at the meeting at Augusta in 1857, which was published in the fifth volume of our collections.

DR. NICHOLS.

Since the above paper was prepared, we have been called to part with another honored and valued member of our Society, the Rev. Ichabod Nichols, late of Portland. He was an original member of the Society, was Corresponding Secretary from 1823 to 1827, and President from that time to 1833. Dr. Nichols was born in Portsmouth, N. H., July 5, 1784, the son of Capt. Ichabod Nichols, who soon after the birth of this son, moved to Salem, Mass. Mr. Nichols graduated at Harvard College, in 1802, at the age of eighteen, with the first honors of a class of sixty, the most distinguished of any which had before left those venerable walls. In 1805 he was appointed tutor of Mathematics in the College, as successor to our late beloved associate, Prof.

Cleaveland, and held that office until his acceptance of the invitation of the First Parish in Portland, to become their pastor, over which he was ordained June 7, 1809. There he faithfully and acceptably discharged the duties of the pastorate until January, 1855, when he was relieved from its labors by the settlement of a colleague, the Rev. Horatio Stebbins. The high character of Dr. Nichols for learning, for purity, and for eloquence, needs no laudation from me. It will long live in the memory of all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, and of his contemporaries; and will be perpetuated in a learned work on the old and new dispensations of religion, which was the final labor and rounding off of his graceful and finished life, and which will soon be given to the public.

The details of his life and some estimate of his character were given to this Society, in the President's address in 1857, which forms a part of the fifth volume of its transactions. Dr. Nichols was elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was at one time its Vice President. He was, also, until recently, Vice President of Bowdoin College, from which, in 1821, he received the honorary degree of D. D. He also received the same honor from Cambridge in 1831.

We cannot now dwell longer on the services, virtues, and attainments of this great and venerated man. They were all devoted to the cause of his Divine Master, to whom he has gone to render an account of his stewardship. He departed this life at Cambridge, Mass., January second of the present year (1859), and was buried from the meeting-house of the parish where the best efforts of his protracted life were bestowed, with the respect and reverence which befitted the solemn occasion.

ARTICLE XX.

AN EULOGY

ON

PARKER CLEAVELAND, LL. D.,

A. A. ET S. P. A. S.;

PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY, MINERALOGY, AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, AT BOWDOIN COLLEGE; AND CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE MAINE HISTOBICAL SOCIETY.

BY

LEONARD WOODS, D. D.

PROFESSOR CLEAVELAND.

At a meeting of the Society held in Augusta, Jan. 19th, 1859, the death of Parker Cleaveland, late Corresponding Secretary, was announced; and the President of the Society thereupon submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

“PARKER CLEAVELAND, whose lamented death occurred on the fifteenth day of October last, was one of the earliest associates of this Society, and one of its officers from the first year of its existence to the close of his long and useful life, a period of thirty-six years. First, he was Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, as successor to the eminent Dr. Payson, from 1822 to 1828; then Corresponding Secretary to the time of his death; and for many years one of the Standing Committee.

“In all these relations, he was ever true, prompt, and faithful; and whenever the honor or the interest of our Society demanded his effort, he was not wanting. In his various public duties, as in his most inner private life, he always bore the same clear and honorable record.

“In common, therefore, with the learned collegiate institution, which he served so long and well; the great body of scientific men and students, in whose behalf his zeal never abated; and the community at large, which he elevated and instructed by a noble life; it is most proper, that this Society,

of which he was ever a valued and devoted associate and officer, should lay upon his grave an appropriate offering of respect, affection, and praise.

“ Be it therefore Resolved :

“ 1. That an eulogy be pronounced before this Society, in commemoration of the virtues and services of our late beloved and venerated associate and friend, Professor Cleaveland.

“ 2. That our respected associate, Leonard Woods, of Bowdoin College, be requested to deliver the eulogy at the adjourned meeting of the Society at Augusta ; and that it be deposited in its archives, and published with its transactions.

“ 3. That the Hon. Mr. Gardiner, the Hon. Mr. Bradbury, of Augusta, and John McKeen, Esq., of Brunswick, be a committee to make suitable arrangements for the occasion.

“ 4. That the Recording Secretary communicate the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the family of the deceased, and to President Woods.”

NOTICE.

The Address delivered at Augusta before the Maine Historical Society, and now published in the sixth volume of its Collections, is the same, in substance, as that which was pronounced at Brunswick a few months before, at the funeral of Professor Cleaveland. It contains, however, some biographical details, which were then omitted in the delivery for want of time, or which had not then come to my knowledge. For the means of completing the biographical sketch then hastily drawn, I am indebted to copious and valuable manuscripts kindly furnished me by Nehemiah Cleaveland, Esq., of New York, and by Rev. John P. Cleaveland, D. D., of Lowell, whose opportunities of familiar intercourse with their distinguished kinsman during the early stages of his long public life, give great interest to their personal recollections. I am also indebted to Peleg W. Chandler, Esq., of Boston, and to the resident members of Prof. Cleaveland's family, for various memoranda, and for free access to the files of his letters. To these gentlemen, to William B. Sewall, Esq., of Kennebunk, who has placed at my service several interesting extracts from his early correspondence with the professor, and to others who have rendered me assistance in various ways, I am happy to make here my grateful acknowledgements.

L. W.

BRUNSWICK, SEPT. 26, 1859.

EULOGY ON PROF. CLEVELAND.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Maine Historical Society :—

IN some remarks introductory to the first volume of our Collections, which are understood to have proceeded from the classic pen of Judge Ware, it is justly represented as one object of this Society, to furnish "biographical notices of men eminent for their public services." And it may well be doubted whether we have any more appropriate duty than this. The Society certainly should regard itself, not as a mere collector of dry materials for the future historian, but also as a living organ, through which the State represented by it, may express its grateful remembrance of those from whom it has derived profit or honor. Its care should be, that as, one after another, our great men are removed by death, their noble gifts, their faithful services, their shining examples, should be held forth to view, and set, if I may so speak, as jewels in the crown by which this youthful State already aspires to emulate her elder sisters. Nor has this duty been hitherto neglected by this Society. How gracefully and well it has sometimes been performed, especially with regard to the distinguished men who have been taken from its own ranks, need not be said to those who have attended some of our recent meetings.

A new occasion has now arisen for the discharge of this ever recurring duty. Within the past few months, two of the oldest and most venerated members of this Society and of this Commonwealth, Professor Cleaveland and Dr. Nichols, have been removed by death. They were both members of Harvard College at the same time, though not of the same standing. They were both tutors in that College, Dr. Nichols having been chosen to fill the place vacated by Professor Cleaveland. From that office they were both called to eminent positions in this State, which they, from that time forward, continued to occupy, the one a little more, the other only a little less, than half a century. Of both of them it may be said, that they were foremost in the spheres which they respectively filled. Both were members of this Society from its origin, and held successively the same office of Corresponding Secretary. Thus united in so many respects in their lives, in their deaths they were not long separated. They were gleaners with us for a while in these solemn and shadowy regions of the Past, but have been garnered before us, as shocks of corn fully ripe. To both of them there have been already rendered, in the places where they had lived so long, appropriate and distinguished honors; but to each of them there is also due some commemorative notice from this Society. To discharge this duty toward one of them, is the object of our present assembling; and in pursuance of the resolutions which have now been read, I shall proceed to give a sketch of the life of Professor Cleaveland, and to exhibit a few of the more obvious traits of his official and personal character.

Parker Cleaveland was born on the fifteenth day of January, 1780, and accordingly, had he lived, would have just now entered on his eightieth year. He was a native of Byfield, a small parish formed out of adjacent parts of the

towns of Newbury and Rowley, in Essex County, Mass., and famous as the birth-place of many eminent men, and as the seat of the oldest academy in New England. He sprung from a stock in which the old Puritan principles and discipline had been revived and perpetuated, long after they had gone into a general decline. His grandfather, Rev. John Cleaveland, while yet a member of Yale College (1744), had enlisted on the side of Mr. Whitefield, and had at the same time warmly embraced the doctrines of the Fathers of New England, which were so powerfully reasserted by this great preacher and his followers. But although the cause of Mr. Whitefield, doctrinally considered, was only Puritanism revived, it was conducted by measures deemed subversive of the established order of the churches, and was, on this account, not less obnoxious, at this period, to the Government of Yale, than of Harvard College. And accordingly, John Cleaveland and his brother Ebenezer, having presumed to attend on the ministrations of a lay exhorter of the Whitefield stamp, and having refused to acknowledge that they were censurable for an act against which there was no law known to them, and which was committed while they were at home during vacation, eighty miles from the College, in company with their parents and a majority of the members of the Church to which they belonged, were both, for this cause, expelled from the College; as David Brainerd had been, three years before, for an offence not dissimilar.¹ As might have been expected, the Cleavelands devoted themselves to the cause they had embraced, all the more zealously for the harsh treatment they had received. It was in consequence of his zeal for the old doctrines and the new measures for which his party was

¹ See Trumbull's Hist of Conn., vol. ii. p. 179. Also Prof. Fisher's Discourse Commemorative of the Hist. of the Church of Christ in Yale Coll., Appendix, No. vi. p. 50.

distinguished, that John, the grandfather of our Professor, received a call, shortly after he was licensed to preach, from the separatist society in Boston, meeting in the Huguenot Church in School Street, where the expatriated Bowdoins had before worshipped; and that, having declined this call, he soon after received another, which he accepted, from the separatist society in the parish of Chebacco in Ipswich, now the town of Essex. During his long ministry of fifty-two years in this place, he was distinguished for the sincere, though unpolished energy, with which he maintained that freer system of ecclesiastical order, and at the same time that stricter system of evangelical doctrine, which characterized the advocates of Mr. Whitefield in New England.¹

It deserves also to be mentioned, as showing the stuff from which the stock was made from which our Professor sprung, that his grandfather was no less zealous as a patriot than as a Puritan. He served as Chaplain in the ill-starred expedition against Ticonderoga in the year 1758, and in the following year at Louisburg, and at several stations of the Continental army during the Revolutionary War. To use the words of Dr. Parish in his funeral discourse: "The waters of Champlain, the rocks of Cape Breton, the fields of Cambridge, and the banks of the Connecticut and the Hudson, listened to the fervor of his patriotic addresses."

The father of the Professor, Parker Cleaveland, M. D., was the second son of Rev. John Cleaveland of Chebacco, and the worthy inheritor of his religious and political principles. He settled early in life, as a physician, in Byfield, on the Rowley side, where he continued, with the exception of a few short intervals, to the time of his death, in 1826.

¹ See his earlier controversies with Dr. Pickering, and his later controversy with Dr. Mayhew.

Though a man of strong natural powers, careful and judicious and for that day well read as a physician, he had but little worldly tact, and accordingly but little success in his medical practice. The glory of his character was its religious element. No subjects interested him so much as the great doctrines of theology. These he had deeply meditated from a child. While embracing the higher views he had learned from his father, he was well informed with regard to all the shades of theological speculation then prevalent in New England, and could discuss them with clearness and ability. He also took a deep interest in the welfare of his country. At the beginning of hostilities in 1775, he went as a surgeon to the camp at Cambridge, where he found his father and two uncles and three brothers, already enlisted in various capacities. And having been an ardent whig and patriot during the Revolution, he became an equally ardent and patriotic federalist of the early Republic. In that distinguished body, the Massachusetts Convention of 1780, Dr. Cleaveland represented the town of Rowley, and again, forty years afterwards, when the State summoned her collected age and wisdom to revise the Constitution.

Shortly after his settlement in Byfield, he married Elizabeth Jackman, the daughter of a neighboring farmer, a plain, sensible, good woman, retiring and reserved, and in her physical organization singularly feeble and excitable. So peculiarly subject was she to electrical influences, that on the near approach of a thunder storm she was always violently agitated, and often thrown into convulsions. It was seven years after their marriage, and in this atmosphere of mingled Puritanism and Federalism, in that intenser form of both, which prevailed in Essex County near the close of the last century, that Parker was born, their first and only child, inheriting the powerful intellect, and the active and cheerful

temperament of his father, and at the same time something of the physico-psychological infirmity, especially the electrical excitability of his mother, to whom he is said to have borne a marked resemblance in the general cast of his features.

He was baptized when about a month old by the Rev. Moses Parsons, then the pastor of the church in Byfield, and the father of the celebrated Chief Justice Theophilus Parsons. During his childhood he gave many indications of that clearness and vigor of mind for which he was afterwards distinguished. On one occasion, when only four years old, having answered a question which had been put to him with a wisdom above his years, and being asked who told him that, he replied, *I told myself*. He exhibited, too, even at this early period, many of those traits of personal character, which became more conspicuous as he advanced in life. He was remarkable, even then, for a certain constitutional timidity, and for great reserve in the expression of his feelings. Though he was known to have strong affections, he never showed them in the ordinary way.

The studious tastes and peculiar temperament exhibited by the boy, determined his father, though possessed of only moderate means, to give him a liberal education; and he sent him to prepare for college, to the famous Dummer academy, which was situated in his native parish, on the Newbury side, about two miles and a half from his residence. The Preceptor of the Academy at this time was the Rev. Isaac Smith, who though esteemed inferior to his immediate predecessor, the renowned and eccentric Master Moody, as a disciplinarian and teacher of Latin and Greek, was regarded as much his superior in general scholarship and polite culture, having had the advantage of a residence of several years in England, and of a large library which he had collected there. No institution could be better for

one who was disposed to improve, and such an one was Parker Cleaveland. Though living more than two miles from the academy, he was always present in school hours, generally walking the whole distance, though sometimes having the privilege of riding the doctor's horse, when he was absent from home on public business. It is, perhaps, sufficient evidence of the student's good character and proficiency, that a warm friendship sprang up between him and the master, and that a correspondence was maintained between them for many years after they were separated.

He entered Harvard College in 1795, before he was sixteen years old. An incident which occurred shortly after, is illustrative of the humble style in which he made his first appearance at this venerable seat of learning, and at the same time, of his tact and good temper. He wore to college a poor felt hat, so unfashionable in form and color, as to attract general notice. There was soon a gathering of students on the green, when one and another began to jeer the freshman about his queer hat. At length it was knocked off, and kicked about without mercy. Its bare-headed owner, finding how things were going, joined in the sport, laughing as loud and kicking as hard as any of them. This exhibition of good nature insured his popularity. A subscription was made on the spot, and he came out the next day with a handsome new beaver.

The popularity which he thus early and cheaply purchased, being sustained by his fine social qualities and his superior talents, attended him through his whole college course. He became the general favorite, and entered himself heartily into the good fellowship to which he was so warmly welcomed. This state of things exposed him to many dangers at a period when the prevailing spirit at Harvard, as well as at other American colleges, was one of infidelity and misrule.

Aware of the dangers by which his young friend was surrounded, his worthy pastor, Rev. Dr. Parish, addressed to him, a few weeks after he entered college, the following words of admonition. "By writing, I hope to prove the continuance of that friendship I have always felt. Truly you have my best wishes for your happiness. Your genius, your habit of application, insure literary acquisitions. You must do violence to your own feelings not to be a scholar. Excuse my apprehensions, if I suggest that your religious interests are more exposed, and men of sensibility are disposed to conform to their associates. This amiable disposition is often a snare. Irreligious companions are dangerous. There is something like enchantment in the example of those we admire. Possibly you may hear sermons, and sacraments, and sabbaths, treated with irreverence. Believe me, dear sir, a skeptic is a hapless being. Examine religion for yourself; trust to no one else; then make a sacred vow not to depart from the religion of your fathers. Your religious advantages have been distinguished. Call to mind the counsels of thy dear, departed mother. Prove yourself worthy of such counsels, of such a parent."

These godly counsels of his pastor were followed up a few weeks later, by others in a similar strain from his former teacher. "A college life," writes Mr. Smith, "will, I hope, be agreeable to you, and unless your tastes and inclinations should greatly differ from what I have conceived of them, it cannot be unprofitable. You have appeared to me to have naturally a considerable thirst for knowledge, and will, therefore, value the opportunity and the means of gratifying it. You have acquired, too, habits of industry which I trust will rather increase than lessen, and than which nothing can be more favorable to your progress in science. Indeed, I have no suspicion of your ever becoming an idle fellow at college; and of course shall not trouble you with

any grave admonitions about the improvement of your time there. My principal fears are, lest your easy temper and cheerful disposition should make your contemporaries too fond of you, and induce them to court your society oftener than may be convenient. I do not wish you to be a recluse, but at all events, I would teach my classmates and companions at college that I must be master of my room and my time, and I would not allow of encroachments on either too frequently, or at improper hours. They will respect you the more, when they see you resolved not to give way to impertinent visits, but to keep the ends of your residence at the seminary where you are placed in view, and steadily pursuing them. Instead of one, you have now a number of preceptors; you will, however, I know, behave to each of them with decency, and not allow yourself easily to entertain any little prejudices against any of them. They may differ in some respects from one another, but will all of them be willing to befriend you, and to give you proofs of their esteem as long as you continue to merit it, which I flatter myself will be the case while you have any connection with them."

To these faithful admonitions of his pastor and preceptor, indicating at the same time the good opinion they had formed of him, and the deep interest they felt in his welfare, young Cleaveland appears to have given good heed. Though he was led by his high spirits and social nature, to mingle freely in scenes of pleasure, there is ample evidence that he was never seduced into any neglect of his college duties, into any conflict with the college authorities, or any abandonment of the moral and religious principles in which he had been educated. So constantly was he seen in society, and so seldom with a book in his hand, that his admirable appearance in the recitation room became a matter of general wonder. But it soon came to be understood, that

if, during the day and evening, he had indulged himself in the society of his boon companions, he would retire at night to his chamber, darken his window, and while supposed to be asleep, would push his studies far into the morning.

So little place had the natural sciences at this time in the college course, that he can hardly be said, while there, to have laid the foundation of his future acquisitions in this department. He was, however, quite a proficient in Greek, and his tutor in this department, the eccentric John Snelling Popkin, is reported to have said, "that unless he himself had got all his Greek roots well dug out before the recitation, there were two in his class, Joseph Dane and Parker Cleaveland, who were sure to screw him to death."

For all his instructors he cherished a dutiful regard, but especially for Prof. Pearson, who was a townsman of his, and who was always regarded by him as his model, both as a teacher and a disciplinarian. And it was probably under the hand of this prince of critics, who made it his boast that he had driven bombast out of the University, that his admiring pupil formed that pure and simple style in which he always spoke and wrote.

He was graduated in due course in 1799, enjoying the reputation among his fellow-students, of being the best general scholar, and the man of most talent and promise, though not bearing off the highest honors of his class.

In his junior year he had taught school, in vacation, in Boxford, and in his senior year, in Wilmington. After he left college, he taught for a few months in Haverhill. From thence, in March, 1800, he went to York in this State, where he taught the Central town school for three years. In these several engagements as schoolmaster, he exhibited the same skill in teaching, the same strictness of discipline, the same power to attach his pupils to himself and to awaken their enthusiasm, which he displayed afterwards in the higher

spheres to which he was called. Years after this period, the praises of master Cleaveland were spoken in these places where he first taught; nor have they ceased to this day to be heard. One of his scholars in York, who is now living, still descants with admiration upon his excellencies as a teacher, — the mingled fear and love with which he inspired his pupils, the perfect subjection in which he kept them in school, notwithstanding the familiarity with which he indulged them out of it, and the impression which he produced upon their minds, that the town school under his charge was far above every other institution in the place. These testimonies fully confirm the account which he himself gave in a letter to his father, March 13, 1803, of the sensation which was produced when he gave notice to the selectmen of York, "that he should dismiss his school the fore part of April." "You cannot conceive," he writes, "how difficult it is to get away. They offer me everything. One scholar told the selectmen they had better give three hundred dollars a month. They say they had rather lose their minister than their schoolmaster." Such were the humble, but auspicious beginnings of a career of teaching, which extended through a period of sixty years, without a single year's intermission, and which was attended from first to last with the same high and well-earned popularity.

But notwithstanding his eminent success in his first engagements in teaching, it does not seem to have occurred to his thoughts at this time, that this was the vocation to which his life was to be devoted. On his leaving college, it was his purpose to study law; and accordingly when he went to Haverhill to teach, he at the same time entered his name in the law-office of Ichabod Tucker, Esq. He was doubtless confirmed in this purpose by a visit which he received while at Haverhill from his college friend, Joseph Story. It is reported that on this occasion, they sat talking through

the live-long night. This may be easily credited of two men so noted for the *copia verborum*, and it may also be believed, that amid the flashes of genius and good humor with which that night was illuminated, there may have been some serious forecasting of their plans of life, in which the mind of young Cleveland may have received from his friend's eloquent advocacy, a new impulse in favor of the law. However this may be, when he went to York, in pursuance of his original purpose, he engaged himself as assistant to Daniel Sewall, Esq., who was at that time Clerk of the Courts and Register of Probate, and also village Postmaster; and during his vacations, and at the intervals of his school hours, gave his aid in those several offices. In this capacity of assistant of Mr. Sewall, he sometimes attended the courts when they were held in other places, as well as in York, and was also occasionally engaged in Justice business, according to the privilege usually allowed at that day to students of the profession, to enable them to become familiar with the forms of practice.

But although he was thus engaged during the whole time of his residence in York, his purpose of devoting himself to the profession of law appears to have been shaken, soon after he went there, partly perhaps through some distaste for the business, but more probably through the earnest desire of his parents that he should study divinity. To whatever cause it may be traced, it is obvious that for more than two years after he went to York, his mind was in a state of painful doubt with regard to his future calling, and was distracted between the conflicting claims of law and divinity, — the eloquent pleadings of Story, and the pious persuasions of his parents, — the promptings of worldly ambition, and the dictates of a conscience controlled by the principles of his religious education.

In this state of uncertainty, he enjoyed the counsels of a

pastor, whose judgment was not warped by any professional bias, and who was only anxious that the decision to which he should come, should be the deliberate result of his own unbiased convictions. With this object in view, Dr. Parish proposed to him, in a letter dated March 22, 1801, that he should pass the ensuing summer with Dr. Emmons, not as prejudging the question of his profession, but as affording him the best opportunity of coming to a right decision regarding it. "I hope," he writes, "you are forming all your plans with the idea of spending the summer with Dr. Emmons. Settle this sacred link in the chain of your calculations. After answering the principal object had in view by the school, let Dr. Emmons be the next object. Let a few months of your immortal existence be consecrated as the still sabbath of your life. There pause, ponder, reason, judge, determine. It will give a complexion to your future existence. It may, I hope will be the basis of greater comfort, energy, and usefulness, whether it shall alter your professional object or not."

Mr. Cleaveland appears to have been prevented from adopting this well-meant counsel, and from joining himself to the train of pilgrims seeking wisdom at the lips of the sage of Franklin, and accordingly from subjecting his life to that decided complexion which it would probably have received from such a process. But, meanwhile, he was vigorously plied by domestic influences, which were all enlisted on the side of the clerical profession. In this state of things he received, after a year's interval, another letter from his ever watchful pastor, dated March 18, 1802, in which, under the apprehension that he might be unduly influenced by the urgency of his friends, the arguments for the three professions were impartially weighed, and "the self-denial, the mortifications, the discouragements, the disappointments of the clergyman" were portrayed in colors so strong, that

they were understood by him at the time, though incorrectly, as designed to dissuade him from devoting himself to the Christian ministry.

At length, after a careful consideration, the mind of Mr. Cleaveland seems to have inclined to a decision in favor of the sacred office. Nor can it be doubted that in coming to this decision he was influenced not only by the wishes of those most dear to him, but also by those higher motives derived from a personal and heartfelt conviction of the truth of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, as held by the fathers of New England.¹

His decision to study for the ministry was soon understood among his friends in Byfield, and led to the following friendly proposal from his early teacher, the preceptor of the academy: "Till of late," writes Mr. Smith, (July 3, 1802), "I was expecting to hear that you were about to enter on the practice of a profession for which I thought you had been some time preparing. But as I am told that you now think of quitting the course of study in which you had engaged, and serving your fellow creatures in a graver and more serious line of life, I wish to know whether it would be agreeable to you, in case this is your resolution, to accept the place of assistant to me in the academy, after commencement. The berth, I suppose, will then be vacant, and I know of nobody I should be fonder of having in such a connection with me, than you. The circumstance of being at home, or nearer to it than elsewhere, would, I presume, be some recommendation of the proposal, and I do not think the situation would be an unfavorable one to you in the pursuit of your studies. Some hours must necessarily be em-

¹ Ample evidence of this appears in the full, though somewhat confidential disclosures of his religious feelings and theological views, contained in a letter written by him to his father before he left York, and now in the hands of Rev. J. P. Cleaveland, D. D., of Lowell.

ployed in business, but you would have others to devote to study and reflection. I have books, you know, of a theological nature, as well as others, sufficient to aid you in your preparation for a time; and the emoluments of the place, though not very considerable, would be something in your pocket." Mr. Cleaveland did not accept this invitation, his engagement in York not having terminated until the spring of 1803. But in the summer of that year, being at home, engaged probably in his theological studies, he took charge of the academy for about six weeks, during the absence of the preceptor, "confining his attention," as he writes to his friend W. B. Sewall, Esq., "almost entirely to the Hebrew, Latin and Greek, and French languages." On finishing this engagement, he made a short visit to York, to assist Mr. Sewall while the courts were sitting; and another short visit to his uncle, Rev. John Cleaveland, of North Wrentham,¹ to place himself under his direction in preparing for the ministry; and then returned to Byfield, to pursue his studies at home, availing himself, for this purpose, of the library of the preceptor.

While he was thus engaged, he received, near the close of October, 1803, information through President Willard, that "he was chosen tutor of Harvard College, to succeed Mr. (Joseph) Emerson, in the department of mathematics and natural philosophy." He promptly accepted this appointment, which brought him back to his favorite employment of teaching; and commenced Nov. 23d, with the instruction of the senior class in Enfield.

The spirit with which he entered upon his new duties may be seen by an extract from a letter of his to his friend Sewall, written about a month after he went to Cambridge. "The Freshmen are my particular class. They appear to

¹ For some account of this excellent minister, see Panoplist, vol. xii., p. 49.

be excellent fellows. In general their size is small. I intend they shall shine in scholarship and character. I already begin to love them. I have already formed a pleasant acquaintance with many of the students. It is not unpardonable for a student to sit down in my room, to converse with freedom, to feel himself in the presence of a friend as well as an officer. Still, however, when I command they will, they shall obey."

His return to Cambridge, though regarded with some solicitude by those of his friends who had hoped to see him soon ordained as a minister, was yet acquiesced in by them on account of the advantages it would afford him for the pursuit of theological study. Dr. Parish thought his tutorship eligible, as it gave him an opportunity, which he had hardly enjoyed before, to make up his mind impartially upon his profession. From the following letter written by Mr. Cleaveland to his York correspondent about a month after he entered on his duties at Cambridge, it is obvious that, at that time, his mind remained firm in its preference of divinity, or certainly had not as yet experienced any reaction in favor of the law. "What are the moral causes," he asks, "why is it, that almost every young man who has natural talents, or at least thinks he has, enlists under the banner of the law? Is it degrading to devote great talents to the immediate service of Him who gave them? Is it degrading to study nature, and the will and operations of nature's God? Does it benumb the talents to employ them in the means of infinite knowledge and infinite happiness? On the other hand, to revolve in the little circle of common law practice, to compass sea and land to proselyte *one fee*, however small, do employments like these give play to the noblest energies of the mind? Do they extend the bounds of usefulness, of science, of religion? Don't misunderstand me. I am not attempting to

raise one pursuit upon the ruins of another. The science of law is of infinite importance. Its practice may display every virtue. My observations are confined to its present state in society. If you answer, *the drudgery must be done*, I tell you, leave it to those who can do nothing else. In order to be respectable in the practice of law, a man must o'ertop thousands of his fellows who surround the *fee mint*, and pick at every cent as it drops. In order to be respectable, he must be honest, just, and virtuous. But can you preserve your integrity, and at the same time obtain the custom of those who are most conversant in the law, and whose business is the most lucrative? I mean the oppressive, the vicious, the idle, the quarrelsome. You must, in some degree, connive at their schemes, or refuse their business, and thus deprive yourself of even a scanty pittance. I appeal to yourself. Do not the employments of attorney, in the lower branches of practice, tend to check the general improvement of the mind and the enlargement of the faculties, at least in every department except that of the law? It is not pretended that the above evils take place in every instance. They are at least great dangers, which a friend has seen, and of which he would give friendly information to a brother, that he might guard against the event."

It is equally obvious from such remnants as have been preserved of his correspondence with his pastor and his uncle of Wrentham, that so late as the spring of 1804, he continued still actively engaged in his preparations for the Christian ministry. In answer to a letter of his, asking advice how to prepare himself for the best discharge of the duty of public prayer, he received a reply from Dr. Parish, dated April 24, 1804, full of excellent counsel on this subject. And in answer to a letter of his to his uncle, containing mingled confessions for the past and promises for

the future, he received a letter, dated April 17, 1804, indicating at the same time what his professed purpose then was, and that still some solicitude was felt lest this purpose should be shaken. "I hope," his uncle writes, "you steadfastly keep in view the important object you profess to be in pursuit of. I trust the hours which are not employed in your official and other necessary duties, are devoted to theological studies, and that you are daily making progress therein. You will feel the object to be of too much importance to allow trifles to divert your attention from it. If your heart be engaged for Christ and his cause, the study of that system of truth which he has revealed to men, will be exceeding pleasant and refreshing to your soul. And the farther you look into it, the more you will be delighted with it. My dear friend, Christ has given you talents which may be very useful in his kingdom, and he requires you to occupy till he comes."

It was about this time that he made a public profession of religion in the church in which he had been baptized. The written relation of his religious experience then required by custom on such occasions, is said to have been marked with his characteristic reserve on such subjects, and to have been read, at his particular request, in his absence.

But the honest purposes of his own mind, and the godly admonitions of his uncle, appear to have been at length effectually, though insensibly, counteracted by the influences acting upon him at the university. That the influences at that time ascendant at Harvard college, were unfavorable to the stricter views in which he had been educated, will be easily credited, when it is remembered that his tutorship occurred exactly at that critical period when the vacancies in the Hollis professorship and the presidency, created by the death of Prof. Tappan and President Willard, were filled by the election of Dr. Ware and Prof. Webber; and

when it is remembered also that the master-spirits of the circle into which he was then introduced, were men distinguished for good fellowship and high culture, and for their honorable and successful efforts to revive and elevate the literary spirit of the times; but also distinguished for their opposition to the traditionary theology of New England. Mingling freely and on the best terms, in this genial society, Mr. Cleaveland seems to have gradually lost his taste for theological study, and to have diverged into the pursuits of general literature. At a meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, Aug. 30, 1804, he was appointed, in connection with Dr. Kirkland and other literary celebrities, to superintend the production of the "Literary Miscellany," a periodical which had been projected for two years, and was then about to be issued. To this periodical he contributed two articles from his own pen, viz: a review of Morse's Gazetteer and of Darwin's Temple of Nature. And so necessary were his labors considered to the success of the Miscellany, that his removal from Cambridge not long after, is mentioned as one of the reasons of its early demise.

Early in the spring of 1805, Mr. Cleaveland had determined to discontinue his tutorship at the close of his term of two years' service, and to enter without delay upon a professional life. Such, however, was the change of taste which he had more recently undergone, that although he still remained loyal to the faith of his ancestors, he could no longer contemplate the profession of divinity with satisfaction, and began to think seriously again of his earlier choice of the law. Finding the question of his profession thus unexpectedly reöpened, and wishing, perhaps, to share with another the responsibility of deciding it, he wrote again for counsel to Dr. Parish, all the more readily, doubtless, because he expected from the tenor of his previous counsels, that the advice which he would receive from that

quarter would be in accordance with his present inclinations. But Dr. Parish was careful not to commit himself to a positive opinion. In his reply of April 30, 1805, after telling him "that his own mind had never been fully decided what he ought to do, or ought not to do, notwithstanding his endeavors to hold him back from deciding too suddenly, under the influence of those justly very dear to his heart;" and "that his present embarrassment in public speaking decided nothing, as that was a branch of *mechanics*, and neither Tully nor Demosthenes could declaim in their first attempts;" he throws back upon him the responsibility of making his own decision: "If thy heart be right, and thou canst spontaneously adopt those habits necessary for a minister, I neither know, nor can conceive, that any unanswerable objection to the calling can be made." From his uncle, also, he received a letter referring back the decision of this great question to himself: "I wish to have your talents employed in the vineyard of the Lord, but you must judge concerning your duty."

Left thus to his own judgments, and restrained as he was by scruples honorable to his character from assuming a sacred office to which he did not feel himself to be called, he gave his final decision in favor of the law; and as he was already well advanced in his preparation for this profession, he expected to be admitted to the bar in the spring of the following year. In selecting a place for settlement as a lawyer, his attention appears to have been directed to this State, then the District of Maine, and to the region of the Penobscot, and to the fair city which crowns the head of its tide-waters, then just emerging from the wilderness. In answer to the inquiries he was making for situations eligible for a lawyer, he received a letter from Hon. David Sewall, Judge of the Supreme Court in Massachusetts, informing him, that "he himself had never been further east than Wis-

casset, but that somehow he had conceived an idea, that the Penobscot river was the most extensive in the District, and that a situation near the head of the tide, as it is called, in that river, would in some future period be a very considerable place of commerce; perhaps," he says, "in the vicinity of Bangor, if I mistake not the name."

But while he was thus busy in rough-hewing his life's ends, as best he could, a Divinity was shaping them to different issues. In the midst of these schemes, fluctuating to and fro between two professions, to neither of which did he feel any strong attraction, he received the appointment of Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Bowdoin College. This institution had been opened only three years before, and had not yet celebrated its first Commencement. The business of looking up a candidate for this important office was committed to Prof. John Abbot, then the only professor in the college. He informs us, "that he proceeded with caution, and did not *fix* till he had made very extensive inquiries, and was completely satisfied where to fix; that he considered practical and social qualities as highly important, and that the answers to his inquiries gave him full satisfaction on that point." On his representations, Parker Cleaveland was chosen to this office, May 15, 1805, by the unanimous vote of both Boards. The appointment was at first objected to by some of his friends in Cambridge and the vicinity, on the ground, "that it was wrong to attempt to deprive Harvard of so useful an instructor;" and it was acquiesced in by them only when they were informed that he had before determined to leave Cambridge, and that "it would do much to raise the usefulness and reputation of that infantile seminary to which he was called." In the first instance, too, it was declined by Mr. Cleaveland, on the ground, "that it would involve the sacrifice of the profession which he had chosen, and the time which he had

spent in preparing for it." He intimated, however, that the invitation might have been accepted if it had happened a year later, after he had been already admitted to the bar, since in that case, "should he fail in his professorship, he would have his profession to step into." On this hint it was suggested to him by Professor Abbot, that his object might be answered, either by accepting on the condition that his personal attendance should not be required until he had been admitted to the bar, or by accepting unconditionally, and taking out certificates of qualification as far as he had proceeded in the law, and keeping them for a future occasion, which, however, he believed would never occur. The latter alternative appears to have been adopted by Mr. Cleaveland, and his acceptance of his appointment was signified to the Boards at their annual meeting in September. He was publicly inducted into office on the twenty-third of October, 1805, being at that time scarcely twenty-five years old. He entered immediately upon the duties of his professorship, which he continued to discharge, without intermission, and with only slight modifications, from that day to the day of his death, a period of fifty-three years.

Within a year from the time of his arrival in Brunswick, he had, with characteristic promptitude, married, and built and begun to occupy the house in which he continued to live ever after.

Although he was always faithful to the appropriate duties of his department, his attention does not seem to have been at first so strictly confined to them, as it came to be in later years. The finer tastes he had acquired under the higher culture of Harvard, survived for a season the effects of transplanting, and contributed much both to the relief and embellishment of his earlier official labors. During this period he was accustomed, in his leisure hours, to study the ancient classics, though without

much pains taking, to read the standard authors both in the English and French literature, and to indulge himself freely in various literary diversions, which were afterwards, either from habit or on principle, rigorously proscribed by him. Nor did he at this period wholly abjure the poetic faculty. It is reported on good authority that, not long after he came to Brunswick, an ode was written by him for some public occasion, which was set to music and sung. And in proof of this impeachment, Professor Cleaveland has been recently spoken of by the late Professor Willard,¹ an early friend and associate in the "Literary Miscellany," in terms plainly insinuating an aberration of this nature, "as one who had showed, while he was in the rapid ascent to the Temple of Fame through the rugged paths of physical science, that he had not become estranged from Parnassus, and that his affections were not alienated from the Muses, however rarely he might have invoked their presence."

His department, at the beginning, was simply that of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, as it had been established at Harvard in 1727, and after that example, in the different American colleges. But in the absence of any instruction in Bowdoin College at that time in the other branches of natural science, Professor Cleaveland began immediately to prepare himself to supply the deficiency; and in the spring term of 1808, gave his first course of lectures on chemistry and mineralogy. This voluntary service was so well received, that a vote was passed at the annual meeting of the Boards in September of that year, "to pay him two hundred dollars for the instructions he had already given on chemistry and mineralogy, and to continue the same sum annually, so long as he should continue to give lectures on those subjects." From that time, in addition to the original designation of his office, he bore the title of

¹ In his *Memoirs of Youth and Manhood*, vol. ii. p. 147.

Lecturer in Chemistry and Mineralogy, until it was changed in 1828, to that of Professor in these branches. The lectures and their emoluments continued in unbroken succession for half a century.

Among the early fruits of these scientific studies were several papers written by him, recording certain meteorological, geological, and astronomical observations which he had made in this region, which were published in the third and fourth volumes of the *Memoirs of the American Academy*.

It seems to have been by accident, that his attention was first turned to that branch of natural science in which he earned his highest distinction. The lumbermen of Brunswick had found difficulty in transporting their boards from the upper mills to the landing place below. In the construction of a wooden aqueduct for the purpose of floating them down, some excavation was necessary. As the blasting proceeded, certain substances appeared which were new to their eyes. They had opened a granite ledge of the very coarsest sort. There were large plates of mica, there were fine quartz crystals, there were cubes of iron pyrites, which looked like something very precious. Had they really stumbled upon diamonds and gold? To answer this question, they had no resort but to apply to the new scientific professor of the college, who was supposed to know everything. But how should he know, having never learned? After examining a small treatise at the end of Chaptal's *Chemistry*, the only work on the subject then in the library (the identical work is still there), and failing to get any satisfactory information, he put up a box of the stones, labelled according to the best of his knowledge, and sent them to his friend Dr. Dexter, then Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge. Not long after an answer arrived from the Doctor, complimenting him on the correctness of his

arrangement and description, and giving as much additional information as was possessed on the subject of mineralogy in the oldest and highest of our colleges fifty years ago. This letter was accompanied by another small box, containing some minerals in return for those that had been sent.

This account is derived from an eye-witness, N. Cleaveland, Esq., of New York, a cousin of the Professor, who was then residing in his family as a pupil. "I accompanied him," says this gentleman, "in his first visit to the Falls, and helped him bring home the first basket of stones that he ever collected. I remember his earnest and often baffled endeavors to determine the characters and names of these rocks and stones. I was with him, too, when he opened the little package from Prof. Dexter, and examined its contents. Great was the rapture with which he unrolled and handled those tiny bits of marble and lava, brought mostly, as their labels showed, from distant and classic shores." "Such," he continues, "was the origin of those collections and exchanges which at length built up the large and valuable cabinet which now adorns the college walls. And thus accidentally, as it were, began that enthusiastic pursuit of mineralogical knowledge which in a few years gave the Bowdoin professor so high a place among the scientific celebrities of the time. It is certainly more than possible that his mind would never have taken that turn, but for the Topsham sluice-way excavation."

The occurrences referred to took place late in the year 1807. From this date, for many years, Mineralogy was his ruling passion. The rocks of Brunswick and its neighborhood were soon explored, and made tributary to his cabinet. Nor did the mineral treasures of his native region long escape his scientific curiosity and rapacity. On his visits to Byfield, the country, for miles around, was laid under contri-

bution for specimens. His half-brother, Rev. Dr. John P. Cleaveland, was an eye-witness of these scientific explorations, and still lives to describe them. "I helped him," he says, "in breaking open several composite rocks in the street wall opposite our own door, that he might get *fresh fractures*. I well remember, too, the forenoon of a warm day in the first week of June, in 1811 (nearly forty-eight years ago), when he made his first visit to the Devil's Den in Newbury. This was a small cavity (you could not call it a cavern) on the right of the old road from Dummer Academy to Newburyport, four miles from the house where the Professor was born. It had been visited once before by a professor from Harvard, and once by some professor from foreign parts; but its riches were reserved for my brother's eye. He returned to my father's house with one or two candle-boxes filled; and my mother's kitchen was at once turned into a laboratory, and the floor strewn with fragments of every variety which the den had yielded. Serpentine (both *common* and *precious*), greenstone (crystalline), pure hornblende, simple feldspar, asbestos and amianthus (the Professor always kept up the distinction), quartz (crystalized), black tourmaline or schorl, were a part of that day's spoils. No miser ever worshipped his money as he did these specimens. Many of them, which I helped him reduce and pack up on that day, have long had a place in French, German, and Russian cabinets."

By researches such as these, in high-ways and by-ways, and by the study of the few treatises on mineralogy, foreign and American, which had appeared at that time, Prof. Cleaveland prepared himself for the composition of his great work on this science. When he left college, as he often remarked to his pupils, he did not know that there was more than one kind of rock in the world. Nor was he alone in this respect among his contemporaries. While the

intellectual sciences, and some branches of natural philosophy, had been cultivated among us with diligence and success, but little attention had at that time been paid to Natural History; and no branch of Natural History had suffered such neglect, or had been left in such obscurity, as Mineralogy. So little progress had been made in this science at the beginning of the present century, that it is stated on the best authority, to have been a matter of extreme difficulty to obtain even the names of the most common stones and minerals, or to find any one who could identify even quartz, feldspar, or hornblende, among the simple minerals, or granite, porphyry, or trap, among the rocks. "We speak from experience," says Prof. Silliman, from whom this statement is taken, "and well remember with what impatient, and almost despairing curiosity, we eyed the bleak and naked ridges that impended over the valleys and plains that were the scenes of our youthful excursions. In vain did we doubt that the glittering spangles of mica, and the still more alluring brilliancy of pyrites, gave assurance of the existence of the precious metals in those substances; or that the cutting of glass by the garnet or by quartz, proved that these minerals were the diamond; but if they were not precious metals, and if they were not diamonds, we in vain inquired of our companions, or even our teachers, what they were."

A change for the better in the state of this science had, doubtless, taken place within a few years before the publication of the work of Prof. Cleaveland. Some able articles on the subject had been written by Seybert of Philadelphia, Mitchell of New York, and Waterhouse of Cambridge. Extensive and beautiful cabinets had been brought to this country, by Dr. Bruce and Col. Gibbs. Courses of lectures on mineralogy had been recently established in several of our colleges. A geological survey of the United States

had been made by Maclure; and a Journal of Mineralogy had been established. But the effect of these measures had been rather to excite a public curiosity, than to furnish the means of gratifying it. They created a want, which could only be met by a thorough, systematic, and *American* treatise on mineralogy. The works of the great German and French mineralogists had not yet been translated; and if they had been, could not have supplied the information which was wanted respecting our wide-spread and newly opened American localities. It was the good fortune of Professor Cleaveland to furnish this needed work exactly at the right juncture of circumstances. His "Elementary Treatise on Mineralogy and Geology" was published in 1816. A few years earlier or later, it might have met a less flattering reception. Appearing when it did, and being such as it was, it was a perfect success, and placed the author at once in the front rank of living mineralogists.

The distinguishing merit of this work, in comparison with those which preceded it, may be stated in few words. The mineralogical world had been previously divided into two principal schools, that of France and that of Germany. The German school, at the head of which was the celebrated Werner, regarded the external characters of minerals as the proper basis both of description and classification. The French school, at the head of which was the equally celebrated Abbé Haüy, regarded the internal composition of minerals, or their true nature as ascertained by chemical analysis, or their crystalline structure including the primitive form and integrant molecule, as the only proper basis of a scientific arrangement and description. Prof. Cleaveland does not hesitate to say, with the French school, that the true composition of minerals should be the basis of arrangement, *so far as it is known*; but that, when it is *not known*, or until it becomes known, the external characters

may be provisionally employed for the purpose of classification; and further, that while minerals may be most scientifically *arranged* according to their internal composition, they may be best *described* by their external characters. In thus combining the excellencies of the French and German schools, Prof. Cleaveland does not claim to be original. He refers in his preface to Brongniart, as having effected with good success the union of the descriptive language of the one, and the scientific arrangement of the other. But while his work was formed on the model of Brongniart, it was executed in a manner entirely his own, and gives assurance of a master's hand. It not only placed the labors of the great European mineralogists before the American public in an accessible and attractive form, but by adding new species and new localities, acquired an American character, and did something to pay the debt of science which America was then owing to Europe.

The work was immediately noticed in terms of high commendation by the leading literary and scientific journals at home and abroad. Silliman's Journal of Science and Arts sums up a long and critical examination of its principles and plan with the following generous and hearty eulogium: "In our opinion, this work does honor to our country, and will greatly promote the knowledge of mineralogy and geology, besides aiding in the great work of disseminating a taste for science generally. Our views of the plan have already been detailed. The manner of execution is masterly. Discrimination, perspicuity, judicious selection of characters and facts, and a style chaste, manly, and comprehensive, are among the attributes of Professor Cleaveland's performance. It has brought within the reach of the American student the excellencies of Kirwan, Jameson, Haüy, Brochant, Brongniart, and Werner; and we are not ashamed to have this work compared with those of these celebrated

authors." The North American also, in closing a long review of the work, which is generally favorable, though making some exceptions to its principles of classification, takes care "to express to the author the high sense it entertains of the value of his scientific labors." The Edinburgh Review, after commending the honest manner in which it is printed, giving on a single page the matter which in England would have been spread over three, expresses the wish that it might be reprinted exactly on the plan of the original, and adds: "We have no doubt it would be found the most useful work on mineralogy in our language."

Some conception may be formed of the interest excited in scientific circles in Europe, by the unexpected appearance among them of a treatise on mineralogy from the New World, by the following extract from a letter written to Prof. Cleaveland from London (April 16, 1819), by the Rev. John A. Vaughan, then resident in England. "Just after the appearance of your work," he writes, "an American gentleman was sometime with Werner, and so exhibited the design and character of the book and its author, that the old man was quite cheered with the hope of seeing some consolidated information on his favorite topic from the western regions. It was promised to be sent to him from England; but he died shortly after, before his wish to see it was accomplished. Mr. Humboldt, who was in England, had a copy in his possession, and his impressions must have coincided with those of all the learned, more especially as he took care not to return it to the Geological Society, of whom he borrowed it, and who felt not a little bereft on that account, though another was given them. Mr. Jameson has expressed his opinion most favorably; and you have the Edinburgh Review for further testimony from the North (though that article, I believe, was written by Mr. Brande). Dr. Clarke, the Professor of

Mineralogy in the Cambridge University, and the noted traveler, uses no other at his lectures, and recommends it to all his hearers as the best. And further, the Geological Society, and many private individuals, have formed or remodeled their collections upon your arrangement. I have been thus particular not to flatter, or to reëcho what you have heard before, but that I may congratulate you on the success of some years of hard labor, and that the work is finding its level so much sooner than that of many a great man before you."

A second and enlarged edition of his work was published in 1822, and was soon exhausted. It had now become the standard American authority in this branch of science, and was used as a text-book in all the colleges. A third edition was soon demanded. But owing to causes which will appear in the sequel, the demand was unheeded, and the author gradually yielded the commanding position he had gained, and the pecuniary profits he might have reaped. He continued, however, to enjoy the most distinguished evidences of the world-wide reputation which he had won. In honor of his services in this department, his name was given to a species of feldspar before known as albite, and also to a compartment in the Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, which is reached through Silliman's Avenue, and which is described as the elysium of the cave, from the marvelous beauty of its forms of gypsum. He received frequent and honorable mention not only in the scientific journals, but in the works of the most eminent savans of Europe, and among others from the pen of Göthe, at once poet and philosopher, in his celebrated "Theory of Colors." He received letters of respect and congratulation from Sir David Brewster, Sir Humphrey Davy, and Dr. MacCulloch in England, from Berzelius of Stockholm, Germar of Halle, Brongniart, Baron Cuvier, and the Abbé Haüy of Paris, with most of

whom he corresponded for years. He received visits of personal friendship and regard from Col. Gibbs, Godon, Maclure, and many others devoted to this department of science, and who brought from the best schools in Europe all that was then known of mineralogy. He received diplomas of membership from sixteen or more literary and scientific societies, including those established in the principal capitals of Europe. He received offers of professorships, more or less formal, and in some instances with offers of salary more than double his own, from Harvard College in Massachusetts, from Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, from the University of William and Mary in Virginia, from Princeton College in New Jersey, from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, and from the University of Pennsylvania. At a later period, he received the compliment of an appointment as Commissioner for the survey of the North-Eastern Boundary, from President Van Buren, and of Regent of the Smithsonian Institute, from President Pierce, — the grateful tribute of an honored pupil.

Contemporaneously with this splendid career in mineralogy, Prof. Cleaveland acquired a high reputation by his lectures on chemistry. These lectures, like those on mineralogy, were, as has been already stated, voluntarily undertaken by him, in addition to the prescribed duties of his department, and were delivered for the first time in the spring term of 1808. In constructing his furnaces and procuring his apparatus, he was obliged, novice as he was, to resort continually to the friendly advice and assistance of Dr. Dexter, which here again, as before, were cheerfully given. Notwithstanding the difficulties which he had to encounter, his reputation as a lecturer on chemistry had within ten years, extended far beyond the college walls. Long

before the day of lyceums had begun, and at a time when public lectures were asked only from the ablest men, he received urgent invitations from distinguished citizens, to deliver his course on chemistry in several of the principal towns in Maine and the adjoining States. He so far yielded to these requests, that in the winter vacations of 1818 and the two succeeding years, he delivered courses of lectures on chemistry in Hallowell, Portland, and Portsmouth. But never after could he be induced, by any persuasions, to deliver his lectures away from his own laboratory. Nor will this be wondered at, when it is considered, that besides the obstacles in his own mind which he had always to overcome before he could bring himself to leave home, it required in those days an ox-team to transport his apparatus. If we may judge from the accounts of some who were present, never were lectures more successful than those delivered by Prof. Cleaveland in these neighboring towns. Though strictly scientific, they commanded large and delighted audiences, and became the general topic of conversation in every class of society. On the evenings when there were no lectures, some social gathering was sure to claim the distinguished professor, where he was sure to win all hearts by his simple and unassuming manners, and his free and cordial intercourse with all about him.

But notwithstanding this success, chemistry held a subordinate place in his estimation, in comparison with mineralogy, until the establishment of the Maine Medical School. This took place in 1820, and Professor Cleaveland was then appointed Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica in the School, having for the first year no assistant but Dr. Nathan Smith of New Haven. At the first meeting of the Medical Faculty, he was appointed its Secretary. Under the first appointment, it became necessary for him to extend his course of chemical instruction; under the second, to

assume the entire management of the internal affairs of the School. The whole arrangement was eminently conducive to the reputation and prosperity of the School, but at the same time, by the new and multiplied cares which it imposed upon him, it presented an obstacle to his progress in what had been hitherto his favorite science. It was this more than anything else, which rendered him deaf for so many years to the entreaties of his friends and the clamors of the public for a third edition of his Mineralogy, and which turned his thoughts and efforts into new directions. He did not now, perhaps, love Abraham Werner less, but Nathan Smith more; and it was noticed, as something significant of the change, that at a christening which took place in Brunswick soon after the opening of the Medical School, he gave to a son, who was to have been called after the great German philosopher, the name of the great American doctor.

From this time forward, his first thoughts and best endeavors were given to his chemical lectures. They were delivered in the spring term, at two o'clock in the afternoon, four days in the week, before an auditory composed of the medical students and the two upper classes in college. After an early breakfast, it was his invariable custom, continued to the last years of his life, to go to his laboratory, and employ the whole intervening time in preparing for the lecture of the day, laying out his topics, performing beforehand every experiment, and practicing every manipulation. These preparations were interrupted only by the frugal repast sent to him from his house in a small basket, when the dinner hour had arrived. In these preparations he always had one or more assistants. One of those who enjoyed this privilege has enabled us to get a glimpse of the philosopher behind the scenes, before the curtain was lifted. No where else, he assures us, was he so social, so communica-

tive, so playful. The great business, indeed, of preparation for the lecture, (and he made it a great one,) never slackened. But this did not prevent many amusing episodes, with now and then a harmless practical joke. It would be not a little interesting, could we hear and compare the reminiscences of those forty or fifty men, who have, one after another, assisted him in the preparations of that old laboratory. In one thing it may be presumed they would all agree, that he never for a moment forgot the caution, which Dr. Dexter took such needless pains to enforce upon him, in his very first directions, "to be on his guard in making gases, mixing them, and preparing explosive combinations."

When at length the hour of the lecture had arrived, and the eager and punctual audience had assembled, and, after seven minutes by the watch, the door was closed, and silence prevailed, and the Professor stood forth amidst his batteries and retorts, master of his subject and of the mighty agents he had to deal with, he was then indeed in his element and in his glory. Though clad in garments almost rustic, he had a dignity of appearance and an air of command, by which the eye of every student was kept fixed, and all listlessness and inattention were banished. His stern and venerable features were lit up with a glow of genuine enthusiasm. Forgetful of himself, he became wholly absorbed in his subject. He professed no great discoveries, he propounded no new theories, he made no pedantic display of learning; but with the modesty of true wisdom, aimed only to exhibit those certain facts and obvious inductions, which constitute the elements of his science. Having clearly conceived of these, and having them well arranged in his own mind, he produced them in a clear and orderly manner. There was no confusion in his thoughts, and none in his discourse. By his calm and simple style and its easy and uninterrupted flow, by his lucid order, by the earn-

estness of his manner, by the interest with which he seemed to regard the smallest and most common things pertaining to his theme, by his happy illustrations and never-failing experiments, and by his occasional sallies of wit and good humor, he carried along the delighted attention of his hearers without weariness to the end of his hour, making plain to them what had been obscure, investing even trivial things, by a salutary illusion, with an air of importance, and in short, accomplishing, in a manner which has never been surpassed, the great object of conveying to the mind of the learner, definite notions and useful knowledge on the subject under consideration. At the close of the lecture many gathered around his table to hear the explanations he was always ready to give to those that sought them. The afternoon had often far advanced before his lingering pupils had dispersed, and his long day's work was over.

Such was Professor Cleaveland as a lecturer on chemistry. It is in this capacity, more perhaps than in any other, that he has been thought to have distanced all competition. It is in this capacity certainly, that all his peculiar excellencies appeared to the best advantage. And it is accordingly as a lecturer on chemistry, that he has been for many years principally distinguished, and that he will be most distinctly and gratefully remembered by his thousand admiring pupils.

In this ardent pursuit of physical science, and especially of the two branches of mineralogy and chemistry, which began as has been stated, soon after the Professor entered upon his office, it soon came to pass that the mathematics were supplanted, and ere long were left by him in charge of tutors. In accordance with this state of things, the title of his office was changed in 1828 to that of Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Natural Philosophy, and was

not afterwards altered. It did not, however, fully exhibit the extent of his official services. In the department of Natural Philosophy, he was relieved, indeed, in some of the branches, by the adjunct professor, confining himself principally to astronomy; but on the other hand, in addition to mineralogy, he taught most of the branches of Natural History. While therefore one of his eulogists, the late Professor Sydney Willard, of Harvard College, has stated inadvertently, that the title of his professorship was more comprehensive than that of any similar professorship in any of our colleges, he would have been justified in representing that the actual services rendered by him, ranging through the three great divisions of physical science, were hardly equalled in their extent; and he is certainly correct when he proceeds to say, "that his labors corresponded to the branches taught by him in due proportion, and to as great an extent, and to as thorough a treatment of them, as could be compassed by an intellect active, searching, and unerring, and an industry that never tired."

Besides his lectures, which came later in the day, he heard recitations in these several departments, from the senior class, at an early hour in the morning, every day in the week, through the successive terms of the college year. In conducting these morning recitations, he exhibited many marked and characteristic excellencies. He always prepared himself the night before for his morning lesson, especially revolving in his mind as he was going to sleep (as he recently informed a friend), such topics of instruction as he might wish to give in addition to his text-book. And when the morning came, morning after morning, year in and year out, his punctual feet crossed the threshold of the recitation room, at the appointed moment, with the regularity of the planetary revolutions, alike in summer and in winter, in fair weather and in foul, in health and in sickness. Present-

ing himself thus before his classes, with this pains-taking preparation, and with this more than military precision, he was able to exact from them a corresponding attention to study and regularity of attendance. This he did with an unsparing rigor, and at the same time without giving offence. Though he did not much occupy himself with the general discipline of the college, he kept up the discipline of his own classes to the highest point, and gave no quarter to any species of delinquency.

From this great amount of service, both in lectures and recitations, and from the zeal and fidelity with which it was rendered, he did not "bate one jot" as he advanced in years. And hence it followed, that though his fame as an author has not been increased since the publication of his *Mineralogy*, his reputation as a teacher of the elements of science has been constantly rising, and at length had become quite unrivaled.

This eminent success of Professor Cleaveland as a teacher, was owing, doubtless, in part, to the perfect mastery he had acquired by patient study and long practice, in the department of instruction committed to his charge. But his extensive knowledge of the physical sciences was rather a necessary condition, than a proper cause of his success as a teacher. Many well known instances might be mentioned of men equal, or even superior to him in learning, who have entirely failed in teaching. He succeeded where they failed, because he had a mental constitution by which he was peculiarly fitted for the vocation of a teacher. His intellectual powers were of a high order, and such as would have made him a marked man in either of the professions between which he was so long balancing, or in any other sphere he might have chosen to occupy; but yet were particularly adapted to the sphere to which he was so early called, and which he actually filled for so long a time. His

mind was practical and even realistic in its turn, rather than speculative; clear in perception, rather than profound in insight; strong in its grasp of great principles, rather than acute and discriminating in analysis; better skilled in the orderly arrangement of facts, and the plain statement of laws, than in the deeper intuitions or higher generalizations of science, — a constitution of mind better adapted to the teaching, than to the discovery of truth, and to the teaching of the physical, than of the metaphysical sciences.

It has been regretted by some, that he employed himself so much in teaching, to the exclusion of original scientific investigation, by which the boundaries of knowledge might have been extended. But it is not by any means certain that it was not best for his own reputation, and for the cause of science, that he followed the bent of his own inclinations in this matter, and devoted himself more and more exclusively to the business of teaching. It has been regretted by others that his commanding talents were not exercised at the bar or in the pulpit, or in some more conspicuous and influential position. But intellectually constituted as he was, a professorship of natural science was his appropriate niche, in which his peculiar powers could be most advantageously displayed, and most naturally, and hence most successfully exercised. And accordingly, no sooner was he providentially placed in this position, than he was for the first time at rest, and thought no more of law or divinity. It was a settlement for life. And this perfect adaptation to his allotted sphere, made him happy in it. There was never one to whom his official labors were less a drudgery. Though eminently a man of routine in all his duties, there was nothing perfunctory in his manner of discharging them. His heart was in his work, and communicated a fresh glow of life to each of his successive courses of instruction, even after so many repetitions, and kindled

a corresponding glow of enthusiasm in each of his successive classes of students.

Thus far Professor Cleaveland has been exhibited as he was in his official capacity. He was hardly less admirable in his personal character. Indeed, he could hardly have been so great as a teacher, had he been less noble as a man. More even than his intellectual qualifications, did his personal and moral attributes contribute to secure to him the eminence which he gained, and the lasting popularity which he enjoyed, in the vocation to which his life was devoted. It may not perhaps be justly said of him, that he was seen to the best advantage when he had put off the robes of office; but it may be truly affirmed, that he could not be adequately estimated without being seen in his personal character and private life.

In his external appearance, and to a casual observer, Professor Cleaveland was stern and austere; and on a sudden provocation, or any obtrusive impertinence, was sometimes passionate and violent. But underlying these rugged austerities on the surface of his character, and constantly cropping out from beneath them, to use a term of his own, there was a large-hearted nature, an exhaustless vein of kindly and generous feelings. This essential goodness of heart was often repressed and concealed by his constitutional reserve of manner; but not seldom did it break through the outward crust, and diffuse over his features a benignant expression, and give to the tones of his voice and to his manners a winning gentleness. It was manifested in his domestic relations, especially in the gentle courtesy with which he always bore himself toward the worthy partner of his life. It was manifested to his classes, in his friendly interest for them, in his earnest desire for their improvement, and in his frank and familiar intercourse with them out of the lec-

ture-room. The social qualities he had shown in his tutorship at Harvard, and which were so artlessly exhibited by him in his letter to his friend Sewall, already quoted, were among the reasons of his appointment at Bowdoin, and they proved not less important to his usefulness and success than had been anticipated.

These more genial traits of his character were often shown in his intercourse with his friends and neighbors. As he was seen by them in his more leisure hours in his family or in his study, or in his more private occupations in his laboratory or his garden, in classifying and arranging his minerals and shells, in trailing and pruning his grape vines, he exhibited such an unaffected simplicity and freedom of manners, such kindness of heart uncorroded by the rancors of religious or political strife, such readiness to communicate information, such cheerful good humor and contentment, such gallant courtesy, too, in plucking for his parting guests his fruits or his flowers, that they soon forgot the great teacher and philosopher, and thought only of the man and the friend.

His goodness of heart appeared also in his relations to the community in which he lived. Though retired in his habits, he felt a lively interest in the general welfare, and until overburdened with official engagements, took an active part in all measures for promoting the public good. In 1814 he delivered an address before "the Brunswick, Tops-ham, and Harpswell Society for the Suppression of Intemperance," which was published by their request. "To a part of this audience," he says, in his exordium, "I must be permitted to remark, *quod hoc genere dicendi meæ vitæ rationes nuper prohibuerunt.*" In 1825, after the occurrence of a fire in which the factory and a large part of the adjoining district were consumed, he interested himself in organizing a fire company, and was chosen its first commander.

Though he was then in the zenith of his fame, and had declined the most distinguished offices to which he was called from abroad, he gladly accepted this village appointment, and held it, to universal acceptance, for twenty years. It is hardly necessary to say, that whenever a fire broke out, by night or by day, he was always first on the ground, always managed the hose-pipe, and always stood, when duty required, in the place of the greatest exposure.

In this connection, and with the good offset which is furnished by this exceptional bravery which he exhibited at fires, it may be proper to advert to an idiosyncrasy of the Professor too well known, and at the same time too little understood, to be passed over in silence,—his general and excessive timidity. The stories which have been current for the last fifty years in regard to his fear of lightning, however apparently incredible, are yet substantially certified by the concurrent testimony of those who have known him most intimately. It is related by persons who were inmates of his house in the early period of his residence in Brunswick, that during a thunder storm it was his wont to lie on a feather bed, taking care that the bed-stead should be removed to a good distance from the wall, and that a rising cloud which gave signs of being charged with electricity, had in some cases kept him from his recitation room, in others driven him home from college or from church in the midst of the services, and that it was not until his house was well protected by two lightning-rods, that he was able on such occasions to maintain any tolerable tranquillity.—But it was not in regard to lightning only that he was a timid man. It would seem, indeed, difficult to say in what respects he was otherwise. Judging from the following account of the matter from the graphic pen of a friend and relative, so often quoted. “His cautionary bump, originally large, stood out more and more, as he grew older. The

idea of danger was an ever present one. Did he hear a dog bark on the other side of the square, his cane was instantly raised and shaken. Did the wind blow a little freshly, his throat and chin were forthwith protected by a bandanna. He never pricked a finger, without apprehensions of the lock-jaw. Under a terror of this kind, I once saw him resort to a powerful prophylactic, which soon proved to the satisfaction of all present, that his jaws were limber enough. The slightest indisposition in his family alarmed him, and the doctor was immediately summoned. It was this extremity of caution, which prevented him from traveling, and finally circumscribed his motions within a few miles from his own door. Long before the stage-coach was supplanted by the railway car, it had become too dangerous a vehicle for him. His last journey to Boston, now some twenty years back, was made in a one-horse chaise. It is no wonder that he never repeated the experiment, obliged as he was on that occasion, to make a tedious detour through the upper counties, to avoid the long and dangerous bridges on the lower route."

With regard to this singular infirmity, which appears to have been a very serious matter to the Professor, though it was an occasion to others of many a smile at his expense, there can be no doubt, that it had its seat in his physical, rather than in his moral nature. It has already been stated, that he inherited from his mother a physical temperament highly excitable, and keenly sensitive to electrical influences. This temperament was exhibited by him in early life, and was no doubt born with him. So far as his fear of lightning is concerned, it appears to have been much less an apprehension of danger, than an uncontrollable nervous excitement. A friend who was occasionally with him during a thunder-shower has stated, that he had seen others more afraid at such times, but none so terribly excited. The

phenomena exhibited by him on these occasions were apparently as purely physical, as the cause by which they were produced, and as much beyond his control as the storm-cloud rolling over his head.

Another marked characteristic of Professor Cleveland which deserves a passing notice, was his aversion to change, his attachment to a settled routine, his tenacity of the ways to which he had become wonted, in short, his intense conservatism of character. Each duty of the day, from his rising up in the morning, to his lying down at night, had its allotted time and place; and the pleasure with which it was performed by him, seemed to depend very much upon its occurring when and where it belonged in the chain of events. He loved to walk in his own beaten path, and thanked no one for attempting to turn him aside from it. Any proposed change from this established routine was in his view presumptively a change for the worse, and was condemned even before it had been considered. This unvarying order, even in matters occurring only once in a year, was insisted on by him most rigorously in the affairs of the Medical School, where he had his own way. On a fixed time every year he gave a list of the Medical class to the printer for the spring catalogue, and could be induced by no persuasion to anticipate this time, no, not by a single hour. When a petition was recently presented to him by a member of the Medical class for a change in the time of the examination, it was let fall from his hand with an expression of astonishment at the presumption of the act, which will not soon be forgotten. On Commencement mornings he joined the procession to the church at nearly the same spot every year, and thereupon, as Secretary of the Medical Faculty, formally presented to the President a list, already latinized, of candidates for degrees in medicine. — To a college man, such as he was, Commencement day was, like Easter to the Churchman, the

point by which the calendar was arranged, and from which the whole year was unfolded. If that was unsettled, everything was deranged. Nothing accordingly could, in his view, be more portentous of evil, than any project to move it out of its place. And when, in the progress of things, such a project came to be entertained, it was regarded by him as a measure not only revolutionary but destructive, and as involving the whole question between a cosmic order and chaotic confusion. In advancing such a project, the spirit of innovation had, in his view, reached a point at which patience ceased to be a virtue, and where, if anywhere, resistance should be made. The project accordingly encountered, from its first inception, through all its stages, his determined opposition. And after it had been adopted, in the wisdom of the Boards, he never ceased to regard it as a well-nigh fatal blow to the best interests of the college, and to send in, year by year, his earnest remonstrance against it. And he was half disposed to consider the rains which, for several years after the change, fell so heavily on the first Wednesday in August, as providentially sent, to mark that day as a *dies infausta*, and to aid him in his efforts to restore Commencement to its old and proper place. — But if this conservatism of his nature was sometimes carried so far as to withstand real improvements, this effect was more than compensated by the steady and effectual resistance it offered to pernicious innovations. It is owing very much to his persistent adherence to the old college system, as he found it at Harvard, and as he brought it with him from thence, that Bowdoin College has been able effectually to withstand the spirit of change at some points, where some other colleges have yielded, it may be to their hurt.

But no proper estimate can be formed of Professor Cleaveland's character without taking into view its moral and religious elements. These, though its least obtrusive,

were its most controlling principles. There are few men in whom the sense of duty has been higher or more active, or whose lives have been more strictly governed by it. It was his great endeavor, in every condition of life, and especially in his official relations, to be found faithful. He felt in an unusual degree the obligations by which the teacher is bound to give his best services to the student, and strove as few have done, to fulfil those obligations in their fullest extent. Never was official fidelity more perfectly exemplified. He doubtless performed the work to which he was called, and for which he was so well fitted, from a love for the work itself, from a love of action and of reputation, from a love of office and its emoluments, from the force of habit, and all the common and legitimate motives by which one follows his vocation; but there could always be seen mingling with these, and subordinating them to itself, a conscientious regard to his official obligations. His habitual and cheerful self-denial, his constant sacrifice of personal ease and comfort, his careful husbandry of time in which even the fragments were gathered up, his stern disallowance of all light reading and unnecessary recreation, his midnight toils, his careful preparation for his recitations and lectures, his punctual and never-failing attendance upon them, and the earnestness which he carried into them, were all inspired and ennobled by his sense of official duty. This, perhaps, more than any other principle, was the deepest spring, and the crowning excellence of his character.

Nor was the sense of duty in him a mere ethical sentiment, with no source or sanction higher than itself. On the contrary, it sprung from his religious convictions. In every relation and in his whole work of life, he regarded himself as standing in his great Taskmaster's eye, and as accountable first of all to Him; and he strove most of all so to act as to merit His approbation. Through his constitutional

reserve he gave little utterance to these religious convictions. But there is good reason for thinking, that with regard to them he did not feel less, than many who profess more. Though to a singular and excessive degree he made his religion an affair between himself and his Maker, no one who knew him ever doubted, that he was a devout man and a sincere Christian. Instructed by his venerated father in that system of doctrine which had been established in New-England by its Puritan founders, and had been revived by Mr. Whitefield and his coadjutors, he had never swerved from it. While he was eminently tolerant of those who differed from him in the articles of the Christian faith, and opposed to every species of theological dogmatism, he kept no terms with infidelity, either in its grosser or more refined forms. Baptized in his infancy, and admitted to the church in full communion in his early manhood, he walked blameless in all its ordinances through a long life. His religious duties on Sundays and week days, were discharged by him with the same precision, regularity, and order, which were exhibited in his secular affairs. His Sundays were kept after the Puritan manner, and with a routine appropriate to themselves. On this day he banished himself from his study, and interdicted to himself all his ordinary occupations. After the public services, he might always be found in his parlor, with his family, when and where he always read the Christian Mirror and the Missionary Herald, which he had taken from the beginning. On week days, after his morning recitation, he attended family prayers, and after breakfast spent a short season in private devotion, before entering on the business of the day. On these occasions, he took his Bible and Scott's Commentary from the place where they were always kept on his shelves, and read in order the allotted portion of the day. The same copy was used by him for forty-eight years, and judging from its

well-worn covers and leaves, must have been read by him through and through. The last chapter which he read in course just before his death, was the seventh of Exodus; the last psalm, the one hundred and nineteenth, from the seventy-third to the eightieth verses, closing with the words, "Let my heart be sound in thy statutes, that I be not ashamed."

Passing as he did from these seasons of devotion, in which he sat in a child-like spirit at the feet of the Divine Oracles, and carrying the savor of them with him into his scientific pursuits, it was proved in his case, as in so many others, that "it is the aroma of religion which keeps science from corrupting." The natural tendency of science to become vainly puffed up *ventuosis symptomatibus*, and to take an infidel direction, was effectually counteracted in him by his reverence for the Holy Scriptures. No sooner did the course of speculation in any department of science begin to run counter to the plain teaching of the Bible, than he began to grow cautious and distrustful; and when it came to an open breach between science and Revelation, he was always found firmly enlisted for Revelation, in company with all those, whose hearts, like his, were "sound in the Divine Statutes." This was especially apparent in the department of geology. At an early period, he had embraced warmly the Neptunian theory of his great master, Abraham Werner. He afterwards seemed more inclined to adopt the Plutonian theory. But when he saw that these theories, and their later modifications, were advanced with an undue confidence, and that they were assuming an attitude hostile to Revelation, he withheld assent from them all. He went so far in his efforts to keep clear of the theories, while teaching the facts of geology, that he would say in his lectures, that a rock *enclosed* a vein of feldspar, rather than was *traversed* or *perforated* by it, preferring a

term by which the phenomena were simply described, without suggesting any theory as to the order or the manner of their existence. In answer to some questions addressed to him on this subject by his brother, Rev. Dr. Cleaveland, he replied emphatically, "that he did not believe that facts enough had been ascertained to warrant the sweeping generalizations of modern geologists; that the more his knowledge of the facts of the science increased, the less confidence had he in any of the theories; and that, for his own part, he was ready to subscribe to what Baron Cuvier had said to him in his last letter, that every added fact in geology increased his confidence in the Mosaic account of the creation, taken in its true and obvious acceptation."

It only remains to speak of the closing scenes of the life of this veteran and venerable teacher. It is appointed to all men once to die; but to some men, favored beyond the common lot, death comes at a time and in a way so fitting to the tenor of their lives, that it seems rather a consummation to be wished, than an evil to be deprecated: and so it came to him. Between the close of life's active services, and the final rest of death, there often intervenes a dreary season of infirmity and decrepitude, in which the vital flame flickers faintly in its socket, before it goes out. The old man often lives to witness the wreck of his powers, and to see himself laid away on the shelf, long before he is laid in his grave. From such a fate, which to him would have been more dreadful than death itself, he was happily exempted. Until within a few weeks before his death, his mental and physical powers were in such full and healthful action, that he seemed to have taken a new lease of life, and to have entered upon a new cycle of service. At that time, near the beginning of the last college year, in September, 1858, some unfavorable symptoms began to appear.

These, though not very alarming, would probably have been considered by almost any other person in his place, as tokens that his work was done, and his end was at hand; and might most reasonably have been urged by him as a plea for a suspension of his labors, if not a release from them. His years, by reason of strength, were now almost fourscore. All those who had been associated with him when he entered on his office, had long since gone to their rest. He had already accomplished a work of which no man need have been ashamed. And now, having stood so long at his post, he might have justly construed his incipient infirmities as signals for retreat and laying down his arms in an honorable surrender, might have enrolled himself among the *milites emeriti*. But such a thought does not seem to have occurred to his mind; and had it occurred, would not have been for a moment entertained. Having entered on another year's course of instruction, he insisted on pursuing it, notwithstanding the friendly remonstrances and warnings which he received. Day by day, for several weeks, this aged man was seen as aforetime, walking over to his laboratory in the dusk of the morning, to hear his recitation, although by this time his disease had become so far developed, that he was obliged to stop several times on the way, to rest himself and get breath. In a few days more, his limbs having become swollen, and his chest suffused, and his sight being almost gone, it was no longer possible for him to walk, and he was conveyed over in his chaise, consenting at the same time, though with much reluctance, that during his illness the exercise should be postponed till nine o'clock. And when it appeared, as it soon did, that even with these reliefs, he could not hear his recitation through, he still insisted upon hearing it as far as he could. The day before his death he had been absolutely unable to meet his class. But in the afternoon he drove out, hoping to recruit

sufficiently to resume his duty the next morning. Meeting him at this time, I implored him in the name of his associates and of his class, to give himself the relief he so much needed. He replied, with great feeling, and they were the last words I heard him speak, that there had not been an absence in his class since he had been ill, and that he should not be absent himself if he could help it. And accordingly, the next morning, which was Friday, the fifteenth of October, having slept better than usual, and eaten his breakfast with better appetite, he was getting ready to go to his recitation, when, at a few minutes after eight o'clock, his discharge came from the only Power from whom he would accept it. Until this summons reached him, his work was not even suspended. He ceased from his labors only when he ceased to breathe. He died with the harness on. He had reached an age beyond the common limits of human life, but had not survived his usefulness by an hour. He stood to the last at the post of duty, with his loins girded about, and his lamp trimmed and burning, and may well be believed to have inherited the blessing pronounced upon that servant, whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing.

The funeral took place on the forenoon of the Tuesday following. It was the loveliest day of the season, and all the air, even during the busy morning hours, "a solemn stillness held;" while the fading tints and falling leaves of autumn, spoke affectingly to the heart of the passing glory of the world, — these gentle voices of Nature sweetly chiming in with the harsher accents of God's holy providence.

The mortal remains were carried to the village church, and rested there for a brief hour, while the Scriptures were read, the prayer offered, the eulogy pronounced, the dirge sung, and then were borne away to their last resting-place.

The occasion was surrounded with an unwonted profusion of all the outward symbols of public respect and sor-

row; and nothing was omitted which taste or feeling could suggest to add to its impressiveness and solemnity. But it was most honored by what was least displayed, — the awed and reverent aspect, the hushed stillness, the suppressed emotion, with which the services were attended by all classes of the vast concourse assembled from far and near, and especially by the students of the college, to whom, as chief mourners, the chief place in these solemnities was justly assigned. As the revered form of one who had been so long a pillar of strength to the college, lay prostrate before them, their heads were bowed under the sense of an irreparable loss. As his great career, filled out to his last hour with useful and honorable service, passed in review before them, the righteous verdict sprung unbidden to every lip, "Well done, good and faithful servant." Nor was there wanting the costly tribute of tears, wrung from many a manly heart, to wash his way-worn feet for his burial. But when they had taken their last look of his venerable features at the grave, and all was over, they went their way, sorrowing indeed that they should see his face no more, but still rejoicing in the rich inheritance they possessed in his name and his example.

RESOLUTIONS.

The following Resolutions were offered by Hon. Charles S. Daveis, LL. D. at a meeting of the Alumni held in Portland, on the Monday after the death of Professor Cleaveland, and were adopted by them.

RESOLVED, That the alumni of Bowdoin College in this place, as they will everywhere, learn with lively sensibility and regret the late sudden death of Professor Cleaveland, and meet to manifest our regard and attachment for his virtues, and testify our respect to his memory.

RESOLVED, That having finished his earthly course in the fulness of his years, his faculties, and fame, it may become us less to lament a loss, which with all his constitutional vigor and vitality might not have been long postponed — than it may behoove us to acknowledge the hand of a benignant Providence which has preserved his days hitherto, and has prolonged the strength and activity of his mind to such a remarkable term among us, shedding lustre upon the cause of science in the community where we live, and abroad throughout the world.

RESOLVED, That while we recognize in him the almost sole connecting link with a bygone age, the friends of learning and original generous patrons of this institution, especially its early governors and instructors; and while he has been particularly a bond of union and attraction among the successive graduating classes from its first Commencement — his high desert to all our minds is as the old and faithful servant of the college in his own peculiar sphere, which he has so much adorned by his genius, enriched by his labors, and distinguished by the splendor of his name and attainments.

His was an eminent and conspicuous position — a light steady, clear, and refulgent, always to be seen in its true place, with polar directness and con-

stancy, beaming forth with unfailing and undeviating radiance, and replying to every call of duty and responsibility. To discriminate and do justice to his varied talents in all their detailed applications, assigned and assumed, might demand an analysis, scarce less varied and happy than his own.

It was his singular felicity to inspire a pride and awaken an admiration and enthusiasm in the pursuit of his favorite branches of study and science, which produced a gathering interest about the institution, redounding no less to its advantage than reflecting credit on all associated in its administration and instruction.

The master of those departments of natural science which he most cultivated, so far as the limits of life and human faculty would allow, he was no less successful as an author than as a pioneer and experimenter, and he excelled alike in the lyceum, the laboratory, and the lecture room. With an uncommon command of powers the most apt for such a province — gifted with extraordinary ease and tact in imparting or extracting information — aided by the mathematical and almost military exactitude and precision of the teachings which he inculcated, and enforced no less by his example — blended also with those kindly, genial, and social qualities by which he was endeared to the youthful circle constantly formed around him, he was equally revered as a faithful instructor, guide, and friend.

RESOLVED, That there are those, and they are many among us, who well remember the period, when crowned with the laurels of his growing renown, he resisted the superior inducements held out to draw him hence, and when he resolved to abide in his former chosen lot, and to devote the best and last of his days to the office in which he was engaged; a resolution to which he held, with characteristic truth and fidelity to the classic precept —

*“ Servetur ad inum
Qualis ab incepto — et sibi constet.”*

RESOLVED ALSO, That to the weight and influence of his character, and the prestige of his wide-spread celebrity, we are largely indebted for sustaining the College in a period of doubt and depression in its fortunes and prospects, when the favor of the parent community was withdrawn from us by our separation from the ancient Commonwealth; and when, moreover, to the same, if not more than any other prevailing cause, we owe the benevolent establishment of the Medical School as a department of scientific instruction, second to no other branch of special skillful education, the prosperity of which has been maintained with such incessant assiduity by his devoted services; and which will stand a monument to his merit, without im-

pairing the sensible value of his general service to the mother institution, or materially preventing the prosecution of those other active, or more silent scientific labors in which he was so long occupied.

RESOLVED, That at the close of so long a career, and having set his seal upon some of the most important departments for the advancement of scientific knowledge and the good of human life, we bow in reverent submission to the merciful dispensation which brings so gentle and peaceful a release.

FURTHER RESOLVED, That these proceedings be communicated to the Academical Government, and the family of the venerated departed Professor at Brunswick, and to our brothers there assembled, with whom we will unite in any services appropriate to the funeral occasion, as a body, and follow the remains to the grave.

The same resolutions were afterwards united in by the graduates assembled on the day of the funeral at Brunswick, and carried into observance on the occasion.

